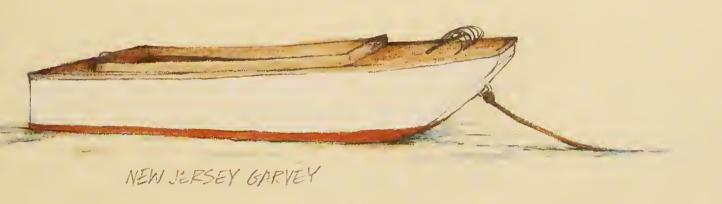
1983 Festival of American Folklife







Front Coren New Jerseyans have developed a variety of small boats. Each type meets the challenges posed by the functions intended for it as well as by local coastal conditions. The sturdy seabright skiff was designed to push out from, ride and fand through the rough ocean surf. The Jersey garvey is used for clamming in bays and estuaries. Duck hunters use the Barnegat Bay sneakbox in bays and sheltered marshes.

Back Cover: Traditional French-American boat builders have developed several different kinds of regional work boats. Each has a specific use within French Louisana's vast network of waterways. The pirogue, originally a type of Native American boat adapted and modified by French settlers, is a flat-bottomed, low-draft boat used for trapping and fishing in shallow swamps and bayous. The chaland is a small rectangular flat-bottomed boat used for crossing a bayou. The lake skift—a larger boat with a flat bottom, pointed bow and blunt stern—is used for fishing in bays and in large coastal and interior lakes.

Illustration by Daphne Shuttleworth

1983 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution National Park Service

June 23-27, June 30-July 4

Appreciating and Protecting Our Nation's Rich Cultural Variety

I would be less than candid about this year's program were I not to admit to a degree of personal satisfaction in seeing at the Festival both my own home state of New Jersey and the people among whom I have done graduate study abroad and domestic folklore field research in Louisiana – French and French-Americans. To all New Jerseyans and to speakers of French from all climes, we wish a hearty welcome and *bien venue*. The fact that 1983 marks the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Paris, which was ratified in Princeton, New Jersey, and which formally marked the end of the American Revolutionary War, testifies to the depth of our friendship with our ally and to the historic importance of the Garden State.

But seeing "one's own" represented at the Festival is only a small part of what we are about. The idea that shapes this year's program – and any year's program, for that matter – is the Smithsonian Institution's abiding commitment to cultural conservation. The traditions you see represented have been brought to the National Mall not only for your enjoyment and intellectual edification, but also as a statement to the people who keep the traditions, to their communities and to the great American public that these cultural traditions are more than the artistic flowering of a healthy community. They are often the very roots of a group's cultural identity, community feeling, and shared sense of style and, as such, are crucial to its well-being and productivity. They are certainly among those worthy of our interest and support.

A concern for the continued existence of folk traditions has motivated the Festival project since it began in 1967. It has also served as the basis of our cooperation with the Folk Arts program of the National Endowment for the Arts, a cooperation that resulted last year in a Festival program honoring the recipients of NEA's National Heritage Award. This year will see a similar

program, and we hope that future years will as well.

The bicentennial of manned flight, aptly turning our attention to France once again, gives us occasion to recognize the occupational folklife traditions that have grown, even as the technology of flight has evolved. These traditions help aviation workers give meaning to their occupational lives and ultimately serve us all by helping them perform with a sense of unity and purpose.

We hope you find entertainment in the beautiful and significant traditions presented at this year's Festival and that you come to understand their importance in the lives of the performers and their communities. We also hope you will join with us in making our nation an environment in which myriad cultural traditions can flourish.

Ralph Rinzler, Festival Director; Director, Office of Public Service Festival of American Folklife Program Book Smithsonian Institution © 1983 Editor: Thomas Vennum Designer: Daphne Shuttleworth Assistant Designer: Linda McKnight Coordinator: Arlene Liebenau Production: Joan Wolbier

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Contents

- 2 Appreciating and Protecting Our Nation's Rich Cultural Variety by Ralph Rinzler, Festival Director, Director, Office of Public Service
- + It's A Small World by S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary, Smithsonian Institution
- 5 Our American Cultural Heritage: Old World Traditions in the New World by Russell E. Dickenson, Director, National Park Service
- 6 National Heritage Fellowships Program by Bess Lomax Hawes
- 10 New Jersey Folklife: An Overview by David S. Cohen
- 12 Maritime Resources and the Face of South Jersey by Mary Hufford
- 16 Foodways in South Jersey by Angus K. Gillespie
- 18 Workers in the Silk; An Exploration of the Paterson Silk Industry by John A. Herbst and Thomas D. Carroll
- 21 Occupational Folklife of New Jersey Harvesters by Rita Moonsammy
- 24 Traditional Dance in France by John Wright
- 27 French-American Traditional Culture: An Overview by Kathy James
- 29 Living by the Music: Cobesive Influences in the Song Repertoire of French American New Englanders by Deborah Waldman
- 31 French-American Foodway's by Marjorie Hunt
- 35 South Louisiana: Unity and Diversity in a Folk Region by Nicholas R. Spitzer
- 39 Cajun Music: A Louisiana French Tradition by Barry Jean Ancelet
- 43 Icarus Revisited: The Folklore and Folklife of Flight by Jack Santino



It's a Small World by S. Dillon Ripley Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

This year's Festival is aptly delineated in a word coined by Horace Walpole (1717-1797) to name the happy discoveries one often makes unintentionally while in pursuit of another seemingly unrelated goal. Derived from an Iranian fairytale of three Sri Lankan princes who continually discover, by chance or by wit, things for which they were not searching, "serendipity" (from Serendip, an old name for Ceylon or Sri Lanka) describes the creative connections that have come to light among this year's four apparently unrelated Festival programs: French and French-American traditions, New Jersey traditions, the Folklife of Flight, and the National Heritage Awards of the National Endowment for the Arts

A moment's reflection by those with an historical eye will trace the link between France and New Jersey through the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Paris which formally brought the American Revolutionary War to conclusion and which was ratified by the Continental Congress then meeting in Princeton. On a similar historical trajectory, one's mind surveys the span between the culture of present-day American aviation workers and the beginnings of manned flight two hundred years ago in France in the balloon of the Montgolfier brothers. And the final link to be discovered among the programs – one which truly turned up like a treasure to a royal Sri Lankan personage on a quest – is Dewey Williams, a National heritage Award winner from Alabama, who makes a yearly journey northward to lend his voice and spirit to an annual celebration of the continuing cultural ties that connect his community in the South with some of its members who have relocated in New Jersey.

Dewey Williams' festive community celebration, together with a re-created Montgolfier balloon, French and French-American performers and craftspeople, New Jerseyans who keep the rich traditions of their state, and present-day aviation workers will, I feel sure, uncover for you even more delightful serendipities during your visit to the 1983 Festival of American Folklife.

Our American Cultural Heritage: Old World Traditions in the New World by Russell E. Dickenson, Director, National Park Service

The National Park Service welcomes you to the annual Festival of American Folklife. We are pleased to co-sponsor with the Smithsonian Institution this celebration of our nation's heritage. The Festival site is the National Mall, which is administered by the National Park Service. The Mall is one of the more than 330 areas administered by the National Park Service; it is particularly significant that the Festival is held on such lands, as National Parks are set aside to provide a full representation of the American story and to relate the achievements, customs and cultures of its people. The Festival serves this purpose, telling the American story through music, crafts and celebrations.

The National Mall was set aside in 1790 under the L'Enfant Plan for the city of Washington. Extending from the Capitol to the Washington Monument, the Mall comprises 146 acres and is bordered by dynamic monuments, memorials and magnificent museums and art galleries which pay tribute to America's place in the arts, sciences and history, and reflect the cumulative genius of its people.

This year's Festival will focus on the cultural traditions of the state of New Jersey, the nation of France, and the communities in this country where French traditions are still strong. Visitors will have the opportunity to see how Old World traditions meld with their New World counterparts to form our cherished American cultural heritage.

We hope your visit will be enjoyable and will include a few moments to partake of the natural beauty found in the parks of our Nation's Capital.



The National Heritage Fellowships Program has been made possible through the collaboration and cooperation of the National Endowment for the Arts, the Smithsonian Institution, and

Continental Telecom Inc.

Bess Lomax Hawes is the Director of the Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. She has taught folklore at the California State University at Northbridge and has been a Deputy Director of the Festival of American Folklife. Her publications include with co-author Bessie Jones, Step It Down: Games, Plays, Songs, and Stories from the Afro-American Heritage.



Sister Mildred Barker Shaker Hymn Singer Maine Photo: John V. Goff

National Heritage Fellowships Program by Bess Lomax Hawes

Only a year ago, the Folk Arts Program at the National Endowment for the Arts joined with the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs to present fifteen outstanding American artists with the very first National Heritage Fellowships in the nation's history. These fellowships were signalled by a certificate of honor hailing each of the fifteen as "a Master Traditional Artist who has contributed to the shaping of our artistic traditions and to preserving the cultural diversity of the United States."

The event represented this nation's especial adaptation of the seminal Japanese concept of "living cultural treasures." In inaugurating such a program in the United States, some accommodation was necessary to encompass the enormous range of artistic traditions that have entered this country during two hundred years of immigration. So rather than be exclusive we determined to revel in these big numbers, to rejoice in their great variety. Writing in the summer of 1982, we said of the first year's fellowships:

Each year [forward] we will greet, salute, and honor just a few examples of the dazzling array of artistic traditions we have inherited throughout our nation's fortunate history. Each year, we will happily present yet another assortment of splendid master American folk artists and artisans who represent still different artistic forms and traditions. We believe that this can continue far into the future. . .

Now the first anniversary in that future has rolled around, and we can present the second year's nominations – a group of sixteen artists of equivalent excellence and perhaps even greater variety. A startling company, every one of them exhibits an authentic talent honed to brilliance by experience, passion, practice, and that exhausting relentless drive to "do it right." Each "right" way, of course, represents a distillation of a particular group of people's aesthetic choices over time, their especial picture of themselves as they most want to be seen. In presenting these sixteen superb traditional artists, then, we present the most elegant and creative aspects of sixteen segments of that part of humankind that has assembled together as citizens of the United States. It is a great joy.

For this year of 1983, we commend to your attention:

Sister Mildred Barker, the principal conservator of the song tradition of the Shaker Society, that tiny group whose intense concern for the aesthetic dimension has been evidenced as well through its distinctive furniture, architecture, textile design, dance and music. Sister Barker, possessed of an accurate ear and a voice of great sweetness, has devoted much of her long life to her beloved Shaker music of which she is performer, librarian, scholar and music teacher all in one.

Rafael Cepeda – a name synonymous with the indigenous Afro-Puerto Rican musical traditions known as *bomba* and *plena*. For over fifty years, with his wife, his three daughters, and his eight sons, Don Rafael's "Familia Cepeda" has preserved and presented the complex drumming, dance steps, vocal improvisation, and many-layered rhythmic pulses of *bomba y plena* to audiences across the island of Puerto Rico.

Ray Hicks, story teller – since the dawn of history a most honorable pursuit. Ray's stories, handed down through generations in his mountain family, tell about the little boy Jack, the one who killed the giant, chopped down the beanstalk, outwitted ogres, wild hogs and robbers, and served his mother and his King. Ray tells them masterfully in the Appalachian style of his forebears and in the telling brings alive the epic cycles of magic and adventure known in old Europe and around the world.

Stanley Hicks, who stands with his cousin Ray as representative of the creative traditions that flourish in the close-knit families of Appalachia. He is a man that can "turn his hand to anything," from making finely crafted dulcimers and banjos on which to pick dance tunes and sorrow songs to telling ghost stories and children's tales. He sings the old ballads too, and when he can't sit still any longer, he jumps up to dance the flat-footed "jumping jack" style he learned long ago. He reminds us of our grandfathers in the days when every man had to be not just a bread-winner but a teacher, philosopher, judge, and handyman, creating a whole life out of the wilderness.

John Lee Hooker, who, according to the critic Tony Glover is part of a "rapidly thinning group, the first line of the post war bluesmen... standing as a link between the field hollers of old and the smack-soul of today. As long as men like Hooker are alive, so too will be the blues that was born in Mississippi... It's more than a musical style, it's a tribute to the human spirit... Hooker is one of the giants."

Miguel Manteo, today holding the coveted title of "Papa Manteo," the fifth in the line. He represents five generations of Sicilian-American puppeteers and the world of characters from the courtly chivalric past they bring to life from the ancient scripts detailing the epic adventures of Charlemagne and his knights. The Manteo Sicilian Marionette Theatre is a national treasure, alive, well, and flourishing in the heart of Brooklyn; Papa Manteo is its memory, its artistic conscience, and its star.

Narciso Martínez, the pioneer of the button accordion, the expressive heart of the Texas-Mexican *conjunto* musical tradition. In the 19th century on small town bandstands across central and southern Texas, Czechoslovakian, Anglo, German and Mexican musicians swapped tunes, texts and musical ideas. Today the *buapangos*, *redovas*, polkas, and waltzes of "Don Chicho" Martínez bear happy witness to that fruitful period of musical interaction. They stand witness as well to the creative genius of the Texas-Mexican musicians who carved this new musical style out of the thorny southwestern landscape.

Lanier Meaders, Georgia potter, a second generation craftsman whose strong straightforward shapes and pied alkaline glazes represent a tradition of creativity that stretches beyond Georgia into the larger pottery complex of the eastern seacoast states. Meaders' earth-brown, olive-green and rusty-grey stonewear pieces have a vitality that bespeaks the self-sufficient frontier spirit; his signature face jugs demonstrate the wit and sophistication common to so many country people.

Almeda James Riddle – the great lady of Ozark balladry. She once listed a hundred songs she could call to mind right then, and added that she could add another hundred to the list if she had the time. "Granny," as she prefers to be called, sings in the unaccompanied way of southern ballad singers, and uses a decorated singing style of great antiquity, frilled with falsetto leaps, breaks, and vocal ornamentation. Her repertoire is extraordinary; her singing impeccable.

Joe Shannon who plays the *uilleann* (clbow) pipes of Ireland, one of the most technically complex musical instruments ever invented by man. A retired Chicago firefighter, Joe Shannon took up the pipes of his childhood in his later years to become the Irish American virtuoso on this extraordinary instrument. His performances are crammed with ornamentation of all kinds, each tune a stunning showpiece of epic proportions.

Simon St. Pierre – lumberjack, fiddler, and acknowledged master of French-Canadian dance music. His reels and two-steps are exemplary, his rare Canadian waltz melodies elegant renditions of that complex tradition. In many of his tunes he accompanies himself with foot clogging, a practice common among old-time French-Canadian fiddlers that adds verve and energy and drive and spins the dancers down the floor.

Alex Stewart, cooper and woodworker. He can make anything that can be made out of wood, he will tell you, and without using either glue or nails. He has made countless bowls, ladles, chairs, swings, tables, spinning wheel parts. But the strong lines of the traditional shapes of the cooper's art – his barrels, buckets, piggins and churns, so elegantly crafted, so ingeniously joined – are the objects that remain longest in the memory and make you



Rafael Cepeda Bomba and Plena Musician and Dancer Puerto Rico Photo: Luis Reyes



Ray Hicks Appalachian Storyteller North Carolina Photo: Jack Schrader



Stanley Hicks
Appalachian Instrument Maker,
Musician and Storyteller
North Carolina
Photo: Caroll Reece Museum, Johnson City, Tennessee



John Lee Hooker Blues Guitarist Singer Mississippi and California Photo: Marina Fusco



Miguel "Papa" Manteo Sicilian-American Puppeteer New York Photo: Martha Cooper



Narciso Martinéz Texas-Mexican *Conjunto* Accordianist Texas Photo: Carlos Chavez Chamizal National Memorial, El Paso, Texas

understand why the honest craftsmanship of Alex Stewart is honored the length and breadth of Tennessee.

Ada Thomas, one of the remaining masters of double-weave basketry in the Chitimacha tribe of Louisiana. Chitimacha split cane work – long recognized for its extraordinary elegance – is intricately patterned with dyed strips of red, yellow, and black in designs taken from nature – "blackbird's eye," "rabbit teeth" and "mouse tracks." Museum collections are fortunate to contain one of Ada Thomas's pieces, as she is one of the few nowadays who can handle the complex technique by which the inside and outside baskets are woven as one.

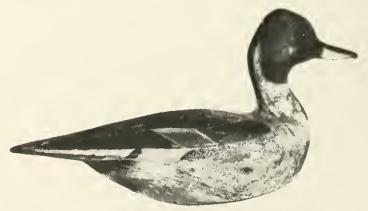
Lucinda Toomer, a Black quilter from southwestern Georgia. Maude Wahlman, scholar of Afro-American quilting, writes, "She will not duplicate the same pattern in successive quilt blocks but chooses to take one pattern and manipulate it in multiple ways. Her visual improvisations establish Lucinda as an artist in total control of her art form in the same way that thematic musical improvisations indicate a master jazz musician." Her work is dazzling, a superb example of the virtuosity to be found in the traditional arts.

Lem Ward, who with his late brother, Stephen Ward, brought the making of duck decoys, once a purely functional traditional craft, into a widely acknowledged and formalized ornamental art form. Their seminal explorations into varying poses, positions, shapes, and painting techniques increased the range of effects available to all woodcarvers, and inspired hundreds of craftsmen to develop ever more realistic and elegant bird carving.

Dewey P. Williams, the acknowledged master and patriarch of the Black Sacred Harp singing tradition of southeast Alabama. For forty years he has been "tuner" for his singing convention – a position reserved for the most competent singers. His vivid personality, engaging enthusiasm for his music, and compelling vocal style have helped keep an important aesthetic tradition alive. We are all in his debt.

These, then, are the sixteen artists nominated in this year of 1983 – each of them exemplary, each of them representing another fragment of brilliant color in the American mosaic. And behind each stands a phalanx of other creative Americans, that reaches across neighborhoods and back through time. They are the ones from whom our honorees learned, the ones who made the mistakes, tested the limits, confirmed the aesthetic centers. In honoring our sixteen artists, we also honor their forebears, and this is, perhaps, the glory of the National Heritage Fellowships, that each one represents not a single creative genius but a linkage of people joined together to produce beauty and truth and meaning, each in their own special way.

The National Endowment for the Arts' National Heritage Fellowships will be awarded annually. The Folk Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts welcomes nominations for the 1984 Heritage Fellowships. Please send your nomination to the following address by October 31, 1983 – Folk Arts Program, National Endowment for the Arts, 1100 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506.



Pintail decoy carved by Lem Ward of Crisfield, Md. Photo by Kenneth Basile



Lanier Meaders Southern Potter Georgia Photo: John Burrison



Almeda Riddle Ozark Ballad Singer Arkansas Photo: Smithsonian Institution



Joe Shannon Irish-American *Uilleann* Piper Illinois Photo: Mick Moloney



Simon St. Pierre French Canadian Fiddler Maine Photo: Joe Pfeffer



Alex Stewart Appalachian Cooper and Woodworker Tennesse Photo: Robert Kollar



Ada Thomas Chitimacha Basketmaker Louisiana Photo: Indian Arts and crafts Board, the U.S. Dept. of the Interior



Lucinda Toomer Afro-American Quiltmaker Georgia Photo: Maude Wahlman



Lem Ward Chesapeake Bay Decoy Carver Maryland Photo: Historical Society of Talbot County, Md.



Dewey Williams Black Sacred Harp Singer Alabama Photo: Hank Willet

Quaker pattern-brickwork farmhouse. Salem County, New Jersey.
Photo by David S. Cohen.

The New Jersey Program bas been made possible through many generous corporate and private donations to Festival New Jersey '83!, a non-profit corporation established and chaired by Governor Thomas H. Kean to fund New Jersey's participation in the 17th Annual Festival of American Folklife.

New Jersey Folklife: An Overview by David S. Cohen

When most people think about folklore, they think about some place other than New Jersey. Folklore is commonly identified with rural settings, and New Jersey is basically urban, suburban, and industrial. There are some rural areas in New Jersey – the truck farms of "the Garden State" and the Pine Barrens of South Jersey – but the former are fast disappearing and the latter survive only because they are preserved by the state. Most New Jerseyans live and work in the densely populated corridor that cuts across the mid-section of the state. But folklorists today recognize that there is also a folklore of the factory, a folklore of the city, and a folklore of ethnicity, and New Jersey provides a rich source for their study.

While New Jersey was one of the first states to industrialize, its earliest industries were rural, not urban. The colonial iron industry was located in the mountains in the north and the bogs in the south, and there are still some today who know the art of producing charcoal – the fuel used in these early iron furnaces. Glass blowing was another rural industry in South Jersey, although abandoned iron-mining and glass-blowing towns in the Pine Barrens are New Jersey's ghost towns of today.

There was plenty of opportunity for industrial and labor lore to develop early in New Jersey. In 1792 Alexander Hamilton and some businessmen founded the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures in order to develop Paterson as the first American industrial city. In the nineteenth century Paterson became a center of silk manufacturing in America. Newark developed a leather and tanning industry, and Trenton had the John A. Roebling Iron Works. The industrial development of the state was aided by the construction in the early nineteenth century of two canals – the Morris Canal across North Jersey and the Delaware and Raritan Canal across Central Jersey. The "tiller sharks" (boatmen) on the canals developed their own occupational folklore. Even today some scholars perceive a high-technology folklore in the form of jokes circulated in offices by copying machines and noncopyrighted games played on computers.

The streets of New Jersey's cities abound with traditional life as practiced for generations. One need only to walk through Hoboken or Bayonne to see children playing stick ball, hop scotch, and Double Dutch jump rope. Paterson has a farmers' market where vendors peddle their produce. In "The Burg" (the Italian-American neighborhood in Trenton) one can see people sitting on their stoops visiting and talking with their neighbors. In fact, New Jersey even offers a rich variety of suburban folklore, which includes such diverse genres as jokes told by housewives at coffee klatsches, bridal showers and Tupperware parties, and masquerading by teenagers at the "Rocky Horror Picture Show."

New Jersey is populated by a large number of ethnic groups, many of which have clustered in city neighborhoods. There is a Cuban community in Union City, a Portuguese community in Newark, a Hungarian community in New Brunswick, and a Japanese community in rural Seabrook Farms. They are not the only ethnic groups in their locales, but they are the largest and give the neighborhood its identity, often reflected in foreign language signs in stores and restaurants. For many ethnic groups folk traditions are their symbols of identity. Their ethnicity is expressed in foodways, language, music, dance, and festivals (often in ethnic costume). Some festivals, such as those presented weekly each summer at the Garden State Arts Center, are designed to present ethnic traditions to the public at large. Others, such as Italian-American saints' festivals, are intended primarily for the members of the community, although the public is welcome. Such American expressions of ethnicity differ from those in the Old World, having been adapted to new settings. Music, such as Ukrainian troyisti muzyky (trio music), once performed informally at

weddings, is now formally presented on a stage at a public festival with dancers in folk costume. Craft traditions that used to be a vital part of rural economy in the mother country are now miniaturized and made into a hobby.

Blacks comprise one ethnic group in New Jersey with a particularly varied history. Because New Jersey had slavery, there are some Black families (many of whom have Dutch surnames) who can trace their ancestry to these New Jersey slaves and free Blacks. Most Blacks in New Jersey came north as part of the Great Migration during World War I. To their number were added West Indian Blacks, such as Haitians, Jamaicans, and Afro-Cubans.

There are also two enclave populations in New Jersey – the Ramapo Mountain People, who descend from free Blacks who were culturally Dutch, and the Pineys, who used to live isolated in the Pine Barrens. The origin of both groups have been forgotten and legends have taken the place of history. While the past of the Ramapo Mountain People has been reconstructed, that of the Pineys is yet to be researched.

New Jersey was once two colonies – East Jersey and West Jersey. The boundary line ran from a point of the upper Delaware River to the mouth of Little Egg Harbor on the Atlantic. There is still a distinct difference between North Jersey and South Jersey which is reflected in the major linguistic distinction between the Inland Northern and Midland dialects. In the north a small stream is called a "brook," while in the south it is often called a "run." There is also a difference in folk furniture styles; for instance, between North Jersey ladderback chairs, which resemble those from New England, and the South Jersey versions (such as those of generations of the Ware family of Cumberland County), which resemble chairs from Pennsylvania. There is even a difference between the split oak baskets made in South Jersey and the variety of basket types made in North Jersey.

Beyond this basic north-south division, New Jersey is characterized by many other folk cultural regions. Red sandstone farmhouses with bell-shaped roofs, Dutch barns, and hay barracks (hay stacks with moveable roofs) define the Dutch culture areas in the northeast. Pattern-ended brick farmhouses and "plain-style" (simply decorated) meeting bouses delimit the Quaker culture area in the southwest. Log houses and split-level bank barns reflect the Pennsylvania German culture area in the northwest. Wood-frame saltbox houses and wing-headed tombstone carvings mark the Puritan influence in the northcentral region.

There is also a maritime cultural complex along the New Jersey Shore. It can be seen in such indigenous New Jersey boat types as the Sea Bright skiff (used in pound net fishing), the garvey (used in clamming), the sneakbox (used in duck hunting), and the schooner (used in oystering). Also part of the maritime tradition is the art of decoy carving, perhaps New Jersey's most famous folk art. There are still "mudwallopers," who make their living from trapping in the wetlands bordering on Delaware Bay.

Because of its small size and complexity, people have concluded that the state lacks an identity. The identity of New Jersey, however, is found in the very diversity of its folklife.

David S. Coben is Coordinator of the Folklife Program at the New Jersey Historical Commission and bas written on New Jersey folklore and local bistory. He has taught for nine years at Rutgers University in Newark prior to his present position.

Suggested reading

Cohen, David Steven. *The Folklore and Folklife of New Jersey*: New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, forthcoming.

_____ and Donald P. Lokuta. Ukrainian-Americans: An Ethnic Portrait. Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1982.

______. The Ramapo Mountain People. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1974

______. Folklife in New Jersey: An Annotated Bibliography, Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1982.

Halpert, Herbert. "Folktales and Legends From the New Jersey Pines, A Collection and a Study." Unpublished Ph D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1947.

_____. "Some Ballads and Folk Songs from New Jersey." *Journal of American Folklore*, 52 (1939): 52-69.

Suggested films

In the Barnegat Bay Tradition. New Jersey Network, 1573 Parkside Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08638.

The Burg: A State of Mind 30 min. New Jersey Network, 15⁻³ Parkside Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08638.

Famous Tiller Sbarks. 30 min. New Jersey Network, 15"3 Parkside Avenue, Trenton. New Jersey 08638.

Aqui Se Habla Español. 1 hr. New Jersey Network, 1573 Parkside Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08638



South Jersey ladderback rocker attributed to Maskel Ware.

Photo Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum.

Maritime Resources and the Face of South Jersey by Mary Hufford

Water has shaped New Jersey as much as it is possible to shape a state without creating an island or a peninsula. Whether salty, brackish, or fresh, water is everywhere in evidence – molding the state's contours and toponymy, its technology and character. It appears under many guises, as bogs, rivers, swamps, marshes, bays, inlets, cripples, spongs, puddles, spillways, and watersheds. The names for some of these are the sole reminders of the American Indians who first attended to them, names like Metedeconk, Manasquan, Hopatcong, Raritan, and Kittattiny. Other names for water places – Bivalve, Camden, Port Republic, Barnegat Light, Keansburg, Atlantic City, Sandy Hook, Tuckerton, Asbury Park, Whitesbog – reflect more recent waves of settlement and events – the oyster industry, shipbuilding companies, the Coast Guard, Captain Kidd, tourism, legalized gambling, World War I, prohibition and rumrunning, Bruce Springsteen, and the nation's first cultivated blueberries.

While North Jersey's cultural face generally bears the imprint of places in far-flung parts of the globe, much of South Jersey's portrait emerges as part of the people's response to the resources there. Perhaps most basic of all those resources is water. The coastal plains have been compared, in fact, to a giant sponge, through which water circulates freely, surfacing as fresh water in the swamps, as brackish water in the salt marshes (locally called "meadows"), and as salt water in the bays. Residents of the coastal plains circulate with ease among the different settings, harvesting the resources they need, as the seasons and economy permit. Having "worked the cycle" for hundreds of years, South Jerseyans have been named by those resources – as baymen, woodsmen, mudwallopers, clamdiggers, and pineys – and have bequeathed to the state a rich legacy of folk technology and literature.

The tides are omnipresent – the implied backdrop for the maritime traditions displayed at this year's Festival on the National Mall. The tide is present in the chanty "blowing" of the menhaden fishermen from Port Norris and in the glass pitchers blown at Millville; in the duck "stools" (decoys) carved on Barnegat Bay and in the salt hay twisted into rope on Delaware Bay. Its imprint is borne by the Jersey Garvey – that square-bowed, indigenous work boat used by clammers. It is even present, some would say, in the faces of clammers weathered by salt spray flung up during vigorous swells.

The moon, naturally, must be credited in part. Not the blue moon of Kentucky, or the Ozark moon of Arkansas, but the Jersey moon, of which Clifford Eayre has written:

Rising up from the sea, she is grander to me,

Than a thousand worlds drifting by.

As she floats o'er the bay, she is well on her way

To her throne high in the sky.

Hiding myriads of stars to the tune of guitars,

That's when all true lovers fall –

For the mellow moon of old New Jersey

Is the grandest moon of all.

The moon, exerting its influence on the Atlantic Ocean, assisted in the past with the harvest of menhaden fish. Also known as "mossbunkers," "alewives," and "pogies," they swim in enormous schools all along the Atlantic seaboard. Before hydraulic pumps were introduced in the 1950s to bring fish aboard, the

Shells that once housed oysters now embellish this house in Port Nortis, New Jersey, an oyster town on Delaware Bay: Photo by Mary Hufford





harvest was accomplished through the synchronization of men, music, and the sea itself. In the chanties the rhythms of the sea are fused with the rhythms of traditional Afro-American work songs, and the stories of the fishermen themselves. Robert Ames, of Port Norris, recalls the importance of the different rhythms in accomplishing the work:

There's no way in the world that thirty-two men can raise eighty ton of fish, unless they do it in a way that the sea helps them... You know what they say? When you're down there holdin' on, they say, "Hold on, boys," say, "Wait a minute," say, "The sea'll give it to you." After awhile, she'll go down on a swell – she'll lighten up.

The chanty leader was of special importance. He led the songs that, as Robert Ames tells it, gave the fishermen the power to raise those tons of fish:

You know what a chanty man is? A chanty man is just someone on the boat that's old and knows how to make rhythms for you – and make you feel good and make the work easier. He don't have to be no captain, he don't have to be no mate – just somebody with a lot of experience that likes to sing.

In the songs, the working men played, invoking justice, for example, on the much resented captain and his mate:

Captain, don't you see? Dark cloud risin' over yonder –

Sign of rain, Lord, Lord, sign of rain.

Captain, don't you know, the whole damn crew is goin' to leave you – Sign of rain, Lord, Lord, sign of rain.

The products of South Jersey's different waters are intricately connected. Oil from menhaden fish was used to melt Jersey sand – a product of the tide's relentless pounding on granite – to produce the celebrated Jersey gall glass. Sand was used as an insulator in the making of charcoal, another fuel used in the glass houses. Oysters were soaked in cedar water for flavoring, and Jersey Cedar, the swamp's gift to the boatbuilder, drifts through the brackish estuaries in the form of Barnegat sneakboxes and duck decoys.

Much of the material culture found on the coastal plains is unique to New Jersey. While ducks, for example, are found throughout the world, only in New Jersey were they first greeted with Barnegat sneakboxes and decoys. The sneakbox, an ingenious gunning skiff with multiple functions ranging from a sailboat to a stationary duck blind, fits hand-in-glove with the salt marshes of South Jersey. It is small enough that one man can pull it over land, and its spoon-shaped hull enables it to glide through areas marked as land on coastal

Menhaden fishermen hauf in their catch off the Atlantic coast, ca. 1955. Photo Courtesy Seacoast Products



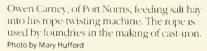
The Barnegat Bay Sneakbox is uniquely formed to meet the environmental challenges of South Jersey's bays and estuaries.

Sketch by Anthony Hillman Photo by Mary Hufford

maps. Its draft is so shallow that it could, as the saying goes, "follow a mule as it sweats up a dusty road." Its accessories include ice-hoods, for both "porridge" (slushy) and "pane" (hard) ice, and its hinged oarlocks and removable decoy rack promote the absence of profile so essential when it comes to fooling ducks, Jersey style.

The Barnegat decoy, renowned for its dugout construction, is linked in tradition with the sneakbox. Duck stools in South Jersey, it is claimed, were hollowed out in order that several dozen could be carried on a sneakbox without overburdening it. While few men continue to make the classic sneakboxes and decoys, the artifacts have become emblems of a regional way of life – appearing on T-shirts, as miniatures in gift shops, and in local business establishments as decoration.

When a South Jerseyan is not trapping for "marsh rabbits" (muskrats) in the meadows, or working the bay for clams, crabs, or oysters, he might turn inland to the fresh waters to supplement his income. There he can assist with the cranberry harvest, or gather a variety of plants to supply to the florist industry, or trap with fyke nets for "snappers." The snapping turtle, that strange primordial beast that God made last, is featured as often in stories as it is in soups.





"Every kind of meat there is," reports Chatsworth's Johnny Broome, can be found in a snapping turtle.

You know why that is, don't you? Because when God made the world and he made all the animals, he had a bunch of parts left over. So he threw all those together and made the snapping turtle.

One trapper in South Jersey used to elicit gasps from his neighbors by kissing live snappers on their noses.

While clams rank as one of New Jersey's most prolific maritime resources. New Jersey's overall portrait is far more enhanced by the clamdigger himself. The old-time clamdigger – a figure extant in people's memories since before the turn of the century – is often portrayed as an invincible, solitary, usually irascible but always beloved character. He is commonly seen working the bay with scratch rake and tongs from his garvey. While his life may be governed by the caprices of the tides, the weather, the economy, government policy, and the clams themselves, there is one thing it seems he can control: his self-portrait. Merce Ridgway, a Waretown clamdigger, celebrates his lot to the tune of "Frankie and Johnny."

Now, some people think a clamdigger,

He's got it mighty fine -

Ridin' along in his old work boat

In the good old summertime.

It's a beautiful day,

Out on Barnegat Bay.

Now, if you should chance to go closer,

You'd see that he's wrinkled and lined,

From the rain and the snow.

The wind that blows,

But he don't seem to mind

Yeah, he's sure got it fine -

He goes all the time.

In Tuckerton (nicknamed "Clamtown"), in Mazzarelli's Tavern, hangs perhaps one of the most moving portraits. The subject of the painting is a patron of the tavern, Jeff Allen, a man who lays claim to the title of "old-time clamdigger." The painter, Win Salmons, also a bayman, explained that Jimmy Mazzarelli had commissioned him to paint Jeff's portrait because he thought so much of him. Noting local responses to the painting, Salmons explained:

The little smile he has is typical of his character and many people along the shore and the beach came over to see the painting, and when they saw, they said, "Why, that's Jeff!" When Jeff came in to see it, he had a red hat on, and he saw it, and he smiled and walked over and he hung his hat on the painting and left it there for weeks!

There may be other places in the world with salt marshes, moons, clamdiggers and Jeffs, perhaps even with the same names. But the face of South Jersey differs, as its features are chronicled in the stories, songs, artifacts, recipes and portraits that ensure that this place is the only one of its kind.

Mary Hufford is the Folklife Specialist for the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. Her work includes the Folk-Artistsin-the-Schools Program in New Jersey and regional studies. She is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Folklore and Folklife Studies at the University of Pennsylvania

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Guthorn, Peter. *The Sea Bright Skiff and Other Jersey Shore Boats*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971.

Weygant, Cornelius. *Down Jersey: Folks and Their Jobs, Pine Barrens, Salt Marshes and Sea Islands.* New York and London. D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940.



Jeff Allen an old-time clamdigger from Tuckerton, as Win Salmons portraved him. Photo by Rick Kolinchik

Foodways in South Jersey by Angus K. Gillespie

The cuisine of New Jersey reflects the diversity of its ethnic population. Thus it is futile to suggest any one dish as "typical" of New Jersey, for one can find Cuban food in Union City, Portuguese food in Newark, Jewish food in West Orange, and Hungarian food in New Brunswick. In fact, nearly any ethnic cuisine one can think of is prepared and consumed on a daily basis somewhere in New Jersey. Most people who have attempted to characterize New Jersey's cuisine have focused on this rich ethnic diversity. There is another way, however, to view the topic – through a regional approach.

New Jersey stretches from the mountains in the northwest through the urban corridor in the center to the Pine Barrens in the south. South Jersey is particularly different, lacking the population density of the rest of the state. In the middle of the Eastern Megalopolis the Pine Barrens – ironically named since they comprise a vast wilderness forest of oak and pine, occupying nearly a quarter of the state. A few of the people who live in this area have been there for many generations, some of them tracing their family history to pre-Revolutionary days. These people have evolved a distinct lifestyle; their way of life is based on a small community in a rural setting which has been relatively isolated for many years. As a result, their culture is very tightly knit and homogeneous.

Outsiders, who had difficulty understanding these people, called them, derisively, "Pineys." But in recent years the people themselves have embraced the term and now accept it with pride. Part of what makes the Piney distinctive is his commitment to self-sufficiency. The true Piney is fiercely proud of his ability to survive without being dependent on a regular employer. He may accept seasonal employment from time to time, but he remains fundamentally his own boss, free to walk off the job at any time. How does he manage to achieve this enviable freedom? Largely through his self-reliance which comes from an ability to live off the land. In practical terms, the South Jersey Piney relies on three resources – hunting, fishing, and gardening. To achieve success in these three realms depends upon an intimate knowledge of his landscape, and while the typical Piney may not have money in the bank, he usually has food on the table – and remarkably good fare at that.

Over the years, the Piney has developed ways of preparing the food which he wrests from his environment. Fortunately for us, these recipes have been recently compiled by Arlene Martin Ridgway, who put them together in a book with the whimsical title, *Chicken Foot Soup and Other Recipes from the Pine Barrens.* Here are three of them.

The absolute mainstay of the Piney diet is venison. To the extent that the Piney can provide for his family by hunting game, he is independent of the supermarket. To the Piney, the deer hunt is not for sport; it is a ritual of survival.

Deer Stew

2 pounds of deer meat, cut in 2-inch cubes Pepper

I cup water

1 large onion, chopped, or 4 or 5 small whole white onions, peeled

3 medium potatoes, cut in quarters

3 carrots, cut in half lengthwise and in half again

¹ Printed with the permission of the Rutgers University Press.

Sprinkle meat with pepper. Add other ingredients and cook covered until tender on low heat. Thicken with flour and water. Serves 6 (recipe courtesy of Mildred Arnold Winton, Barnegat, New Jersey)

Fortunately for the Piney, he is never far away from a large body of water – either the Barnegat Bay or the Atlantic Ocean. Hence he can nearly always supplement his diet of game with clams, oysters and fish. Clamming and fishing are just part of growing up in the Pines, the skills passed along from father to son and the recipes from mother to daughter.

Baked Bluefish

1 3-pound bluefish

Bacon strips

Stuffing:

2 slices dry bread, broken

1 small onion, finely minced

I tablespoon butter

Salt

Pepper

Onion salt

Pinch of garlic salt

Preheat oven to 350°. Clean and wash out bluefish well. Gore it to make openings for stuffing. Before stuffing fish, place in pan. Stuff fish and place bacon strips on the outside of the fish. Put 1 or 2 cups water in pan and bake for 1 hour. Serves 6 (recipe courtesy of Myrtle Taylor Ridgway, New Gretna, New Jersey)

Even more reliable than hunting and fishing as a source for meals is the family garden. The land in the Pine Barrens is too sandy for large-scale commercial agriculture (except for cranberries and blueberries), but it does lend itself well to the carefully cultivated small garden plot. This is not the casual weekend recreational activity we associate with the suburban gardener, for many of the gardening techniques are traditional rather than modern. For example, there is no reliance on commercial pesticides; instead, pests are removed individually by hand. A typical garden recipe distinctive of the region is the following:

Turnip and "Tater" Stew

2 medium turnips, peeled and cut in 1-inch chunks

3 medium potatoes, peeled and cut in 1-inch chunks

8 1/4-inch thick slices salt pork

1 medium onion, diced

1 medium carrot, cut in ½-inch slices

½ green pepper, cut in 1-inch pieces

1 stalk celery, cut in 1-inch pieces

1 large clove garlic, minced

Salt

Pepper

Sugar

Seafood seasoning

Dash gravy seasoning

3 teaspoons cornstarch

Boil turnips and taters in water together until tender. While they cook, place salt pork in a cast-iron pan over medium heat. When enough grease has melted out and the salt pork is nicely browned, saute the rest of the vegetables together in the salt pork grease for approximately 10 minutes. When the turnips and taters are done, drain and add them to the rest of the mixture. Add just enough water to cover. Season with salt, pepper, sugar, seafood and gravy seasonings. Simmer approximately 25 minutes. When done, thicken with cornstarch dissolved in half a cup of water. Serves 5 (recipe submitted by Carol Britton, Forked River, New Jersey, and Audrey Singer, Rochester, New York)

Angus K. Gillespie is a collector and student of New Jersey folklore and music. He is currently Associate Professor of American Studies at Rutgers University, baving received bis Pb.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. He also serves as Director of the New Jersey Folk Festival and editor of New Jersey Folklore: A Statewide Journal.

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Forman, Richard T.T., ed. *Pine Barrens: Ecosystem and Landscape*. New York: Academic Press, 1979.

Kobbe, Gustav. *The Jersey Coast and Pines*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1970, reprint of original 1889 edition.

McPhee, John. *The Pine Barrens*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1971.

Sinton, John, ed. *Natural and Cultural Resources of the New Jersey Pine Barrens*. Pomona, New Jersey: Stockton State College, 1979.

Suggested films

Joe Albert's Fox Hunt... and Other Stories from the Pine Barrens of New Jersey, by Julic Gustafson and John Reilly with Karen Mooney. 59 min. 34" videotape cassette, color sound. Global Village, 454 Broome Street, New York. NY 10012.

Motber Leed's Thirteenth Child, by Bill Reed 29 min color sound New Jersey Network, 1573 Parkside Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08638.

Sand in Our Sboes, by Martin Spinelli. 29 min color sound. New Jersey Network, 15⁻³ Parkside Avenue, Trenton, New Jersey 08638.

Workers in the Silk: An Exploration of the Paterson Silk Industry by John A. Herbst and Thomas D. Carroll

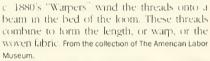
Workers in the Paterson silk industry in the first third of this century sought employment there for two basic reasons: money and family. When asked why she had decided to enter the trade, one worker replied, "because it paid more money." But she was also able to obtain a position in the mill because her father was a weaver there.

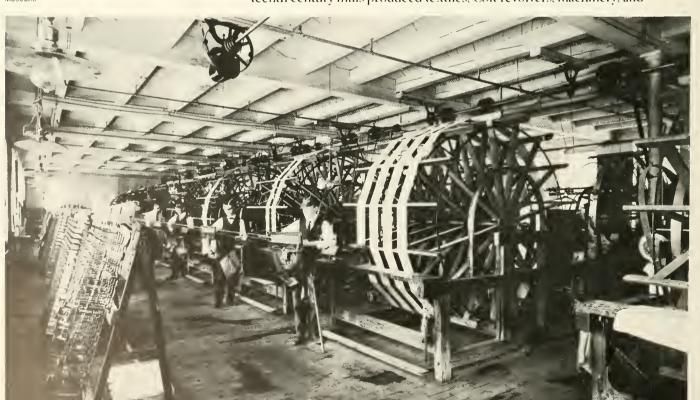
Whatever their incentives to enter the trade, once hired, workers tended to remain at their jobs for a long time. New workers, especially those in semi-skilled positions, were generally trained by their supervisors. More highly skilled positions, such as that of weaver, usually required a more traditional form of training. One worker remembered that her father, a Jacquard weaver, had said:

"You come down to work with me. I'll teach you to weave." So I went down, and that's where I learned to weave. Then they give me my own loom. This transmission of skill from parent to child seems to have been common practice in the Paterson silk industry.

Paterson had achieved prominence in the nineteenth century as one of the great industrial cities in America. Centered around the Great Falls of the Passaic River, it grew as the nation's first planned industrial center. It was sponsored in 1792 by Alexander Hamilton through the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures (S.U.M.), a private corporation which was to carry out Hamilton's vision of an industrial nation.

Hamilton and the S.U.M. began the creation of what was to become a powerful city of industry. Connected by a three tiered water-power system designed by Pierre L'Enfant, architect of Washington, D.C., Patersons's nineteenth century mills produced textiles, Colt revolvers, machinery, and





locomotives. The city also became the major producer of silk in the United States, and it was this industry which had a pervasive effect on the population, for everyone had ties to the manufacture of this esteemed textile.

By 1870, Paterson was famous as the "Silk City of the New World" or the "Lyons of America," after the famous silk center of Europe in France. By 1876 more than 8,000 people worked in the silk industry; by 1910 their numbers had increased to more than 20,000.

In contrast to other industries, which relied on unskilled laborers, the silk process required workers specialized in the techniques of warping and weaving. To fill this need, immigrants began arriving from European textile centers where their families had woven cotton, silk, wool, or linen for generations. Thus residents of Paterson today can trace their ancestry back to Macclesfield and Coventry in England, Belfast in Ireland, Krefeld in Germany, Biella and Commo in Italy, or Lodz in Poland.

Families leaving these centers shared a common experience of protest against the industrialization of their craft. In the Old World, cottage or workshop based craftspeople had held artisan positions with high status in their society. The gradual move to the factory system resulted not only in the displacement of workers through increased mechanization of the textile process, but a loss of economic independence and social standing for them as well. Consequently Paterson silk workers of varying nationalities shared an openness to trade unionism.

Arriving in Paterson, immigrants joined other families from their homelands in neighborhoods and streetcar suburbs of the city. The names of these ethnic enclaves reflect the occupations and countries of origin of the workers: Weavertown, Dublin, Belgium Hill, Little Italy, and Little Holland. From tenements, private homes and company housing, workers left before dawn to begin their 10-12 hour day, six days a week in one of the 300 mills of Silk City.

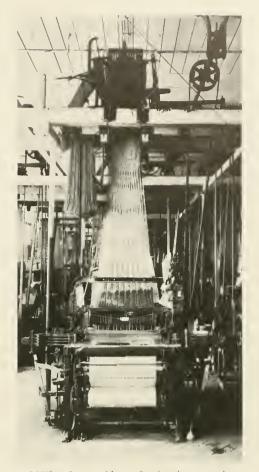
While on the job, mill workers wore good shoes for support because they were on their feet all day. They also changed clothing when they arrived at the mill and put on aprons, because oil and grease from the machinery would otherwise stain shirts and dresses. Additionally, female workers wore their hair short or kept it tied up high on their heads, since long hair and even apron strings could be caught by the drive belt or drawn into the loom mechanism itself.

The mill environment, though clean and well-lit, was very noisy. One woman remembers going to visit her mother, who was a warper: "I used to hate to go through that mill, it was so noisy. I used to say, 'Mom, how could you stand it?' "To cope with the noise "we had to talk loud, but you could talk over the machine."

Interaction among the workers was nevertheless limited, as the nature of the work demanded their close and constant attention, and because they were paid on a piecework system, which linked their wages directly to the amount of goods they produced. The worker was also aware of the importance of her place as a teamworker in the larger process of production. As one quill-winder noted when asked about the consequences of falling behind in her work, "Well, then, the weaver wouldn't get his quills . . . his quills ran out at a certain time and he had to have the board ready for him to renew."

While on the job, most workers carried with them a small pair of scissors about two inches long, often in the pocket of their apron but usually in their hand: "You had the scissors in your hand all day long... little bitsy things, and you always had it on your finger." Weavers also worked with other tools, which were laid before them on the loom: "The loom had a board across it, and it had a little groove in it. And you kept your pick and your shuttle-threader and your hook there." The pick was used to remove flaws from the woven fabric, the shuttle-threader to position the silk that formed the weft, and the hook to pull broken threads of the warp through the reed.

Weavers often had to make minor adjustments on the loom, as did other workers who tended the machinery in the mill: "You worked on a mechanical loom, and you got used to things that happened." While a loomfixer patrolled the floor constantly, sometimes stopping to chat with the operators, in troublesome cases, he would be summoned to solve the more complicated mechanical problems.



c. 1880's A Jacquard loom fixed with a special punched card which programmed the design, and permitted the weaving of complicated patterns into fabric. We still weave according to Jacquard pattern. From the collection of The American Labor Museum.



 c. 1865. Young boys, or "winders," operating the winding machines. The thread is wound onto bobbins and quills. From the collection of the Passaic County Historical Society.

John Herbst is the Executive Director of the American Labor Museum in Haledon, New Jersey. He is the former Curator of History at the Paterson Museum where he worked with their folk collection. John received his M.S. in Museum. Administration at the Bank Street College of Education in New York.

Thomas D. Carroll is currently in the doctoral program at the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Folklore and Folklife Studies. He is on staff at the Folklife Center at International House in Philadelphia where his work involves fieldwork, writing and research. He is an officer of the New Jersey Folklore Society, and edits and publishes their newsletter. His particular interests are material folk culture and folk narrative.

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Brockett, L. P. *The Silk Industry in America* New York. The Silk Association of America, 1876

Herbst, John A. "A Slice of the Earth." Haledon, New Jersey. American Labor Museum, 1982. Messenger, Betty. *Picking up the Linen Threads: A Study in Industrial Folklore*. Austin. The Univerity of Texas Press, 1978. The machinery was, however, generally viewed favorably and even with pride by the mill workers, for accidents in the mills were few and usually not serious. When speaking of the power loom, one worker admiringly observed that "the mechanism was really a work of art." Just as the machine was admired, so was the weaver, a position to which many less highly-skilled workers aspired. One woman who had been a quill-winder and subsequently a weaver described her feelings about the promotion succinctly: "You felt like you had accomplished something if you could master weaving on one of those looms. Because they were complicated, you know. You felt like you did something great."

A Glossary of Terms

Jacquard – a loom fixed with an 18th century apparatus that was devised by Joseph Marie Jacquard of Lyons, France to permit the weaving of fabrics with complicated patterns.

Loom – a machine which weaves the threads of the warp with the threads of the weft at right angles to produce a woven fabric.

Reed – a tool composed of very thin pieces of flattened steel or brass which were set into a frame very much like the teeth of a comb. In the early days of weaving, these were usually made of reed or cane, hence the name. These "teeth" were set very closely together to form a very fine comb. The threads of the warp were drawn through the reed by the *reed-sticker*, who prepared the loom for weaving.

Warp – those threads which combine to form the length of the woven fabric. The threads of the warp were wound onto a beam by warpers. This beam was placed in the bed of the loom opposite where the worker stood. The bed of the loom comprised most of its length from front to back. The weaver stood in front of the loom, facing the back. The warp was drawn toward the weaver, that is, through the bed and into the loom itself.

Weft – the threads which formed the width of the woven fabric. In weaving, the loom separated the threads of the warp vertically, forming a space (sometimes called the shed) through which the threads of the weft were drawn. The threads of the weft were wound onto a *quill* by the *quill-winder*. The quill was then placed into the *sbuttle* by the weaver. The shuttle was an oblong piece of wood with a depression in its upper side, into which the quill was placed. The shuttle was then driven through the gap in the warp, or shed, forming the weft of the fabric. The process was then repeated. The weft is also sometimes called the woof or the shoot.

Occupational Folklife of New Jersey Harvesters by Rita Moonsammy

From makeshift vendor stands, grocery stores, front yards, and backs of trucks are offered the varied fruits of New Jersey harvests: "Jersey 'lopes," "Jersey tomatoes," "Muskrat meats – three pieces \$1.00," "Fresh Little Necks," "Raritan Reds," and "Fresh Blues" – all products of the diverse terrain of New Jersey's Coastal Plain.

Along the bays and marshes of the Outer Coastal Plain, trappers and fishermen adjust their lives to the seasonal patterns of wildlife and schedule their days to conform with the tides. On the fertile soils and sandy loams of the Inner Coastal Plain, farmers follow occupational clocks and calendars based on moon cycles and growing seasons. Although their harvests are different, such groups who traditionally make their living off the land and water share some common features in their lives, and their folklore reflects the fact that nature is both their benefactor and their adversary.

Town names like "Bivalve" and "Vineland," and local nicknames like "Muskrat Capital of the World," reflect the natural foundations of these human institutions. When Italian-American farmers around Vineland marked property boundaries with grapevines, they created visible symbols of their relationship to their lands. When trappers along the Maurice River call themselves "mudwallopers," the reference is to the terrain of their activity.

Occupational identity however, may change with the season, when work is geared toward a different harvest. For example, along the Delaware Bay, oystermen long ago discovered that oysters spawn better in the fresher waters near the Delaware River but later grow better in the saltier Bay waters. Their season starts in May, when they dredge up seed oysters, or "oyster plants," from state-owned beds and deposit them on leased grounds in the Bay – one reason why they often call themselves "oyster planters." Through the summer, however, while they wait for their crop to grow, they may fish, farm, or work on the boats. In September, they once again become oystermen, dredging up the bivalves until January.

Similarly, the marshlands that fringe the coast offer many harvests, and, to the mudwalloper who reaps them, many occupations, but always his day is governed by the tides. Muskrat trappers trudge through the muddy meadowlands from December through March. At lowering tides, they set traps along the labyrinth of inlets that weave in and out of the "marsh bunnies" (muskrats) houses. Come spring, trapper becomes fisherman. He "makes a drift" by letting shad gill nets flow out behind his boat as the flood tide moves up the river. In the fall, about an hour before high tide, he pushes his railbird hunter's boat into the marsh grass and reeds. Sleep is something to be caught between tasks.

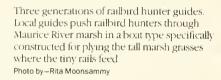
During intense work seasons, Sunday necessarily becomes the only day that man's agenda supersedes nature's. When the Delaware Bay dredgeboats worked under sail, due to the work schedule, Thanksgiving had to be observed on Sunday instead of Thursday in Port Norris. At Our tady of Pompeii Parish in Vineland, the traditional Italian saint's day celebration is held annually on the Sunday after Labor Day, rather than on the actual feast day. It becomes then a celebration of both harvest and belief.

Traditionally, "work socials" were the farmer's answer to man's need for recreation when nature required that he work. When wheat needed threshing and hogs were to be slaughtered, several families joined forces to finish a job while they enjoyed each other's company.

Route 553, Cumberland County. Muskrat fur and meat are "cash" crops for many New Jerseyans who live near wetlands.

Photo by Mary Hufford







Although modern technology has drastically changed many such occupations, nature, however capricious, is still in command. The successful farmer or fisherman acquires as much knowledge as he can, both recent and traditional, weighs it against his own experience, discards what he finds useless, and develops his own approach.

Astronomy plays a vital role in planting and harvesting, and the astrological depiction of cycles in *The Farmer's Almanac* finds its way into occupational language: "When the moon shifts, and the sign is in the arm, plant limas. Beans have to come on and set, and under some signs, they'll fall off." The Italian-American maxim that peas planted on St. Giuseppe's Feast Day will flourish represents a synthesis of belief and astronomical systems.

Knowledge of the tides and the behavior of wildlife are important to trappers and fishermen: A trapper might say.

What makes a big tide is the wind in the East and a full moon. And sometimes there's what we call a 'pogee' tide. 'Apogee,' really, but we say 'pogee.' Has to do with the moon and that sort of thing. The pogee tides don't come in very big, and they don't go out very far. They're like a lazy tide. They don't do much.

The lobsterman's technology is similarly based: the home-made lobster pot with its funnels, "kitchen," where the bait is placed, and "parlor," and the elaborate pound net for fishing are traps dependent upon traditional knowledge of how creatures respond to different stimuli.

There is an abundance of weather lore among harvesters, for a farmer can see his year's earnings washed away by torrential rains, or a fisherman can lose his life on stormy waters. Thus, while the fisherman keeps close check on marine weather forecasts, he will still take note of "sundog clouds," or scan the heavens for the "mackerel skies and mare's tails" that "make lofty ships fly low sails."

Stories of good harvests, and close calls, reflect the harvester's view of this life as one full of risks. Many stories celebrate occasions of winning a gamble through wily skill and persistence. Such is this story from a lobsterman, Bill Richardson of Keyport, New Jersey:

The biggest day I ever had offshore, I went out and we had one line. And it blowed up and got late. It was supposed to be lifted like today, and we had to leave it over. So, naturally, the next morning out, you'd lift that line first. So we lifted over a barrel of lobsters in that. Then we went out to where we were going to have this day's work. And we lifted this line and had over a barrel on that!

Well, then I went down on the south end, and we lifted that line and got over a barrel on that line! I said, "John, over a thousand today!" And he said to the other fellow, "Hear that, Frank? He's talking through his hat again." But I knew if the north and south were good, everything in between was, too. So, we lifted that line and grabbed the end line. Just as good! They were just as good all the way through!

Thursday, June 23

lable from 11:00-5:30 in the New

gn language interpreter will be

a upon request at the Volunteers

ch/French-American

Program

unteer interpreters will be avail-

ey Celebrations Area

Check signs in each program area for Schedules are subject to change. specific information.

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Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.	Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael Auditorium, American History	ı. Aviation Program	Skills	Strations Area	Demonstra-	of pilots'	cockpit	procedures &	flight	safety	procedures & cabin	procedures	1.00	% S	Restoration	0161Jo	W Iseman. Cooke	Biplanc	Demonstra	tions	all day of	
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Craft

France

11:00

American Foodway

Tent

American Crafts Tent

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Crafts Tent

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National Air and Space Museum Held in cooperation with the

Held in cooperation with the Government of France

5:00

Cajun Music

Zydeco Music

4:00

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Fiddle Styles

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5:00

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Weaving

Music & Dance

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> Arts Program at the National Endow-Held in cooperation with the Folk ment for the Arts and Continental Telecom Inc.

Held in cooperation with Festival

New Jersey '83!

Friday, June 24 Dance/Concert 5:30-6:45 p.m. Evening Concert 3:30-6:45 p.m.

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Evening Concert at 7:00 p.m. at the Sylvan Theatre:

New Jersey Music

Musical performances at the Festival

Films and a discussion period will be have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael Auditorium, American History

Aviation Program

Fellowships Program National Heritage

New Jersey Program

French/French-American Workshop/ able upon request at the Volunteers Volunteer interpreters will be avail-A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 in the Narrative Area

French/French-American

11:00

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all day:
Cajun
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Agricul- ture Area Family produce stand sales all day 22 New Jersey crops planted on Mail Workshops 11:00 & & 3:00	
Celebra- tions Area Oktoberfest Workshop Oktoberfest Music & Dance Oktoberfest Workshop Oktoberfest & Dance Dance Dance & Dance Dance Dance Dance Dance Dance Dance	
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Maritime Area Demonstrations all day boat building, decoy carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropernaking, rush seat weaving, oyster shucking, 11.00 8 2.00 cration with	33!
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5:00

ment for the Arts and Continental

Telecom Inc.

Saturday, June 25 pance/Concert 5:30-6:45 p.m. schedules are subject to change.

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Auditorium (Constitution Ave., N.W. between and Concert at 8:00 p.m. in the Departmental National Heritage Fellowships Ceremony 12th & 14th Streets)

National Heritage

Musical performances at the Festival A sign language interpreter will be have been partially funded by a constant. 뎚

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unteer interpreters will be available

French/French-American

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Ongoing presenta-

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books, & other material

French-Canadian

Foodways

Tent

American **Crafts Tent**

Stage

Attendants

Flight Corner

Pilots Corner French-

American

French.

Crafts Tent

Workshop/ Narrative

> Music Stage

French

-12:00

Louisiana

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Aviation Program	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures	1:00 & & 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & Demonstra- tions	contempo- rary airline main- tenance			eration with
Aviat	Narrative Stage		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Ceneral Aviation		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation	Sala	Held in cooperation with the National Air and Space Museu
gram	Museum of American History	National Heritage Exhibition Interviews & Per- formances	Appalachian coopering		Appalachian tale swapping		Sicilian- American Marionettes		the Folk
Fellowships Program	Crafts Area	Demonstra- tions all day: Chitimacha basket- making.	Alro- American quilt making, Appalachian coopering	working, & & pandereta making. Chesapeake	decoy				eration with at the Nation
Fellow	Music Stage	Music of the Shakers	Ozark Ballads	Irish Music Black Sacred Harp Music	Afro- Puerto Rican Music & Dance	Texas- Mexican Conjunto Music	Appalachian Music	Blues	Held in cooperation with the Folk Arts Program at the National Endow
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day	Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops	3:00					
	Celcbra- tions Area	Queimada Ritual Music & Dance	Queimada Ritual Workshop	Oktoberfest Celebra- tion					
New Jersey Program	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by herbalists, pharma-	glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular	chemist Workshops 12:00 & \$:00					
New Jerse	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Labor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion		Festival
	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day- boat- building, decoy	carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropermaking, rush saat	oyster shucking, sca chanties Demonstra-	tions of oyster shucking 11:00 & 2:00				Held in cooperation with Festival New Jersev '83'
	Music Stage	Gospel	Music of the Pine Barrens	Traditional Religious Music	Bluc	A Cappella Quinter	Hispanic Music		Held in coopera New Jersey '83!
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4:00

3:00

carving, wood

French Canadian Fiddling

France

Regional Music & Dance of

flight attendants

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with

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Music & Dance of France

Cajun Music

Regional

decoy

Songs & Ballads

Old Time

occupation

Creole Music 5:00

Zydeco Music

Sunday, June 26 Dance/Concert 5:30-6:45 p.m.

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

French/French-American Music at the Sylvan Theatre:

A sign language interpreter will he available from 11:00-5:30 in the Aviation Area

able upon request at the Volunteers Tent Volunteer interpreters will be avail-

have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds. Musical performances at the Festival

Auditorium, American History Museum. Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael

French/French-American	rogram
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Aviation Program

Fellowships Program National Heritage

New Jersey Program

11:00

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- 12:00

	French America Foodwa Tent	Demonst tions at tons at tons at tons at tons (Cajun foodway from Louisian & Acadian foodway from Manne			
	French Crafts Tent French American Crafts Tent	French craft demonstrations all day: lace making, basket-making, stone cutting, spinning, instrument making, cheese.	making French- American craft demonstra- tions all day: boat-	building, decoy. carving. wood carving	the
0	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Cajun Music & Dance Story- relling Regional Music & Dance of France	French Fiddle Styles Old-Time Creole	Music of Louisiana Occupa- tional Workshop Gras Gras Celebra- tion Regional Music & Dance of France	Held in cooperation with the Government of France
	Music Stage	French: Canadian Fiddling Regional Music & Dance of France Mitchif Indian Music French: Canadian	Musicana Musicana New England Songs & Ballads	Regional Music & Dance of France Calum Music Comparative Fiddle Styles Zydeco Music	Held in cooperation w Government of France
	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Ongoing presentation of pilots scrapbooks, old log books, & other material culture. & informal discussion with pilots	Ongoing presentation of flight attendants memorabilia & material culture of the	occupation & informal discussion with flight attendants	the
SOLVED	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures & flight attendants' safery procedures & cabin procedures & cabin procedures & cabin &	8estoration of 1910 Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & & Bemonstra-	tions all day of contemporary airline main-tenance	Held in cooperation with the National Air and Space Museum
	Narrative Stage	Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics	Service Jobs in Trans- portation: Pullman	Porters & Flight Attendants Airline personnel discuss a variety of avariety of avarietion topics	Held in coop National Air
2.00	Museum of American History	National Herrage Exhibition Interviews & Per- formances Irish Uilleann Piping	Blues	Afro. Puerto Rican Music & Dance	the Folk nal Endow-
vampa i ogram	Crafts Area	Demonstra- tions all day. Chitimacha basket- making, Afro- American quilt making, Appalachian coopering & wood- working, & wood-	pandereta making & Chesapeake Bay duck decoy carving		Held in cooperation with the Folk Arts Program at the National Endow-
	Music Stage	Appalachian Music Afro- Puerto Rucan Music & Dance Ballads	Blues Irish Music	Black Sacred Harp Music Texas- Mexican Conjunto Music French- Canadian Fiddle Music	Held in coop Arts Progran
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day 22 New Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops 11:00 & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & &			
	Celebra- tions Area	Oktoberfest Workshop Oktoberfest Music & Bance	Celebra- tion		
, robimii	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions ail day by herbalists, pharma- ceutical glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular systems	Workshops 12:00 & 3:00		
ACM DEROC	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion Sirk Process	Workshop Labor History Workshop Weaving Demonstra- tion	ı Festival
	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day: boat: bunding, decoy carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropemaking, rush seat weaving, oyster shucking,	sca chanties Demonstra- tions of oyster shucking 11:00	5.00	Held in cooperation with Festival New Jersey '83!
	Music Stage	Music of the Pine Barrens Hispanic Music	Religious Music A Cappella Quintet	Sephardic Oud Music Blues	Held in coopera New Jersey '83!
		12:00	2:00	4:00	

5:00

ment for the Arts and Continental

Monday, June 27

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Musical perform from Fund

Films held fi Audite Muse

Aviation Program

Fellowships Program

New Jersey Program

National Heritage

unteer interpreters will he avail-A sign fanguage interpreter will be wailable from 11:00-5:30 in the lational Heritage Crafts Area

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upon request at the Volunteers

French/French-American

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French- American Foodways Tent	Demonstrations all day: Cajun foodways	Louisiana & Acadian foodways from Maine						
French Crafts Tent French- American	French craft demonstra- tions all day:	making, basket- making, stone cutting,	instrument making, cheese- making French-	craft demonstra- tions all day: boat- building decoy	carving, wood carving			he
Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Regional Music & Dance of France	My First Instrument Workshop	Dance Workshop: Poitou French:	Foodways Regional Music & Dance of France	French- American Crafts	French. Canadian Fiddling		ration with t
Music Stage	Mitchif Indian Music Cajun	Music Regional Music & Dance of France	French- Canadian Music of New England	Cajun Music Songs	Ballads Old-Time Creole Music of Louisiana	Regional Music & Dance of France	Zydeco Music	Held in cooperation with the
Pilots Corner Flight Attendants	Ongoing presentation of pilots scraphooks, old tog	books, & other material culture, & moremal moremal	uncussion with pilots Ongoing presenta- tion of flight attendants'	bifia & material culture of the occupation &	informal discussion with flight attendants]
Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin		Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & Demonstra- tions all day of	contempo- rary airline main- tenance			Held in cooperation with the
Narrative Stage		Airline personnel discuss a variety of avaittion topics		70	Auchdants	Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Held in cooperation with the
Museum of American History	National Heritage Exhibition Interviews & Per- formances	Texas- Mexican Conjunto Music		Music of Appalachia		Chitimacha Dasket making		1
Crafts	Demonstra- tions all day: Chitmacha basket- makine	Afro- American quilt making. Appalachian coopering	& wood. working, & & pandereta making	•				Held in cooperation with the Folk
Music	Afro- Puerto Rican Music & Dance	Ballads French- Canadran	Fiddle Music Black Sacred Harp Music	Irish Music Texas-	Conjunto Music	Music	Blucs	Held in cooperation with the Folk
Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day 22 New	Jersey crops planted on Mall	3.00 3.00					1
Celebra- tions Area	Queimada Ritual Workshop	Oktoberfest Music & Dance	Oktoberfest Workshop	Queimada Ritual Workshop	Queimada Ritual Choral Music	Queimada Ritual Music & Dance		
Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by herbalists,	glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular	N.					
Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Labor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion		Festival
Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day- boat- building, decoy-	carving. lobster trap making, salt hay ropemaking, rush scat	oyster shucking, sca channes Demonstra.	oyster shucking 11.00 & 2:00				ration with
Music Stage	Sepherdic Ond Music Blues	Gospel	Music of the Pine Barrens	Hispanic Music	Traditional Religious Music	A Cappella Quintet		Held in cooperation with Festival
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Festival of American Folklife General Information

Festival Hours Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held in the New Jersey Music Tent at 11:00 a.m., Thursday, June 23. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with five evening concerts at 7:00 p.m. on June 24, 26, and July 1, 2, and 3 at the Sylvan Theatre Stage. June 25th at 8:00 p.m. an award ceremony and concert in honor of the 1983 National Heritage Fellowship recipients will be held in the Departmental Auditorium (Constitution Ave., N.W. between 12th & 14th Sts.). On concert evenings food sales and an evening dance at one of the various music stages will continue from 5:30 until 6:45 p.m.

Food Sales Seafood will be sold in the New Jersey area and Italian food from New Jersey will be sold in the Heritage/Aviation area. French food will be available in the French-American area. There will also be GSI food sales located at various points on the site. Lemonade, orangeade and French cider will also be available throughout the site.

Sales Books, records, T-shirts and crafts relating to Festival programs will be available in the Museum Shop sales tent from 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily. There will also be craft items, records, and program books for sale in the Festival Information/Sales Tent.

Press Visiting members of the press are invited to register at the Festival Press tent on Madison Drive at 12th Street.

First Aid An American Red Cross mobile unit will be set up in a tent in the Administration area near 12th Street on Madison Drive, during regular Festival hours. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.

Rest Rooms There are public and handicapped outdoor facilities located in all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional rest room facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Telephones Public telephones are available on the site opposite the Museums of Natural History and American History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/Lost Children and Parents Lost

items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters who may be prone to wander.

Bicycle Racks Racks for bicycles are located at the entrances to each of the Smithsonian museums.

Metro Stations Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to either the Smithsonian or Federal Triangle stations on the Blue/Orange line.

Interpreters for the Deaf Sign language interpreters will be available at the Festival each day in a specified program area. See schedule for particulars. Oral interpreters will be available upon advance request if you call (202) 357-1696 (TDD) or (202) 357-1697 (voice).

Handicapped Parking
There are a few designated handicapped parking spaces at various
points along both Mall drives. These
spaces have the same time restrictions as other public spaces on the
Mall.

Evening Concerts At 7:00 p.m. on the following dates, an evening concert will be held at the Sylvan Theatre on the Washington Monument grounds.

June 24: New Jersey Music

June 26: French/French-American
Music

July 1: Festival Sampler

July 2: French/French-American Music

July 3: New Jersey Music

A special celebration will be held at the Departmental Auditorium (Constitution Ave. between 12th & 14th Sts.), June 25 at 8:00 p.m., to honor and present to the public the 1983 recipients of the National Heritage Fellowships. Award recipients will perform.

Heritage Exhibition From June 23 through September 5, 1983, an exhibition honoring the 1983 National Heritage Fellowship recipients will be on display in the National Museum of American History. Recording Project This year, in addition to the archive-quality research tapes made of most performances at the Festival of American Folklife, the local performances from the French-French-American stage will be recorded for future publication by the Smithsonian Collection of Recordings, a division of the Smithsonian Institution Press.

The recordings will dramatically reinforce the 1983 Festival's concentration on French culture in America, permitting the direct comparison of two branches of the same musical tradition. And where else but at the Festival could such a musical conflu ence be so authoritatively documented? "This is exactly the kind of project we like to get involved in,' notes Bill Bennett, Executive Producer of the Smithsonian Collection. "When we can make a cultural statement with music of this caliber and broad appeal, it is tremendously satisfying.

The support generated by this project illustrates the commitment that over the years has enabled the Festival to maintain the high standards of presentation and performance worthy of the folk arts and the national museum. The production effort is underwritten in part by a grant from the John and Clara Higgins Foundation, Reelsound, Inc. has donated the services of one of its state-of-the-art mobile recording units, permitting high fidelity 16-track recording; the 3M Corp. has donated the tremendous quantities of Scotch™ recording tape that permit full coverage of the Festival; and the Sony Corp. has agreed to furnish one of their PCM-1610 digital tape recorders for the mastering process, as well as assorted condensors and wireless microphone systems. Individual contributions by Lisa Null, who conceived of the project, and Gregg Lamping, who devoted thought, coordination, and professional expertise, have made it reality.

Plans for the release of the recording include the kind of thorough packaging that has been a hallmark of Smithsonian Collection recordings: extensive liner essays, artist information, photographs, and award-winning graphic design. It is hoped that the planned 2-LP set (also available on one double-length cassette) will be ready for shipment in time for next year's Festival. A selection of Smithsonian Collection recordings is available through the Museum Shops.

Festival Staff

Festival Director: Ralph Rinzler Neu Jersey Program Coordinator. Sue Manos-Nahwooksy French/French-American Program

Coordinator: Marjorie Hunt French Program Coordinator. Kazadi wa Mukuna

Aviation Program Coordinator, Jack Santino

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Amanda McQuiddy Rita Moonsammy Kazadi wa Mukuna Kathleen Mundell

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Charles Scalera Victoria Schmidt Carl Schulze, Jr.

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Phillip Thomas Nancy Van Duyne John R. Weingart Connie Woodruff

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Bobby Ferguson, Louisiana State

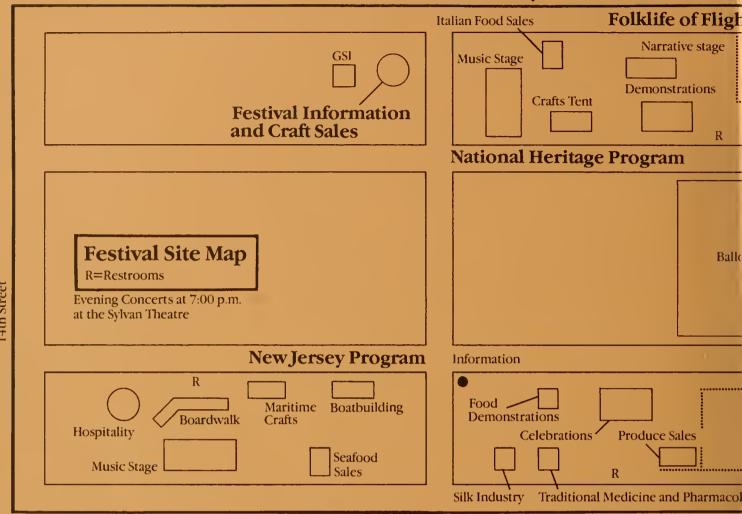
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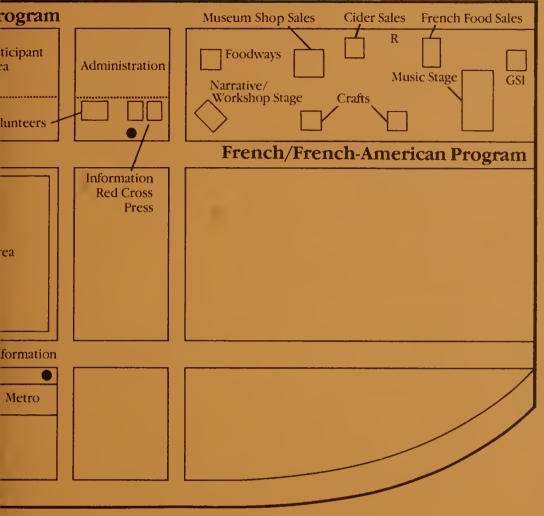
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Brenda McCallum Larry McCullough William McGhee W.K. McNeil Mick Moloney Mrs. Mooney Debbie Mormon John Newsome Amy O'Neil Iim O'Neil Daniel Patterson Barry Lee Pearson Joe Pfeffer Luis Reves Steven Richmond **Edie Robins** Jack Schrader Jean Smith Chris Strachwitz Juan Tejeda Jeff Tinsley Hector Vega Maude Wahlman Anne Warner Jeff Warner Eliot Wigginton Hank Willett Joe Wilson

Agrippino Manteo

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Participants in the 1983 Festival of American Folklife

New Jersey Participants

Agriculture

Joan Sorbello Adams, farm life --Mullica Hill

Anthony Catalano, produce sales— Salem

Toni Catalano, produce sales – Salem

Mary Sorbello, produce sales – Mullica Hill

Susan Sorbello, produce sales — Mullica Hill

Celebrations

Alabama Day

Thelma Britt, Afro-American cook ing — Newark

Glennie Davis Franklin, shape note singing – Hillside

Mabel Jackson, shape note singing -

East Orange Mary Alice Phillips, shape note singing — Elizabeth

Mabel Upshaw, shape note singing – East Orange

Bon Festival

Iddy Asada, cooking – Bridgeton Sandy Ikeda, drums – New York, New York Fusaye Kazaoka, embroidery – Bridgeton

Shigeko Kazaoka, crafts – Bridgeton Ellen Nakamura, obon dancing kimono making – Elmer

Kiyomi Nakamura, technical director, obon dancing — Elmer Kazuyo Nakao, dancing — Seabrook Sunke Oye, dancing — Vineland

Sunke Oye, dancing – Vineland Wendy Takahisa, drums – New York, New York

Suzi Takata, crafts – Bridgeton Harumi Taniguchi, cooking – Seabrook

Hisano Tazumi, kimono dressing – Bridgeton

Jenny Wada, drums – New York, New York

Audee Kochiyama Williams, drums

— New York, New York

Peter Wong, drums – New York, New York

Theodora Yoshikami, drums — Brooklyn, New York

The Feast of Our Lady of Casadrino
The Joseph Colletti Marching Band
John Bonfante, trumpet – Trenton
Louis Cordas, clarinet – Trenton
Joseph D'Ambrosio, drums – Trenton

Carmine DeLorento, trumpet – Trenton

Paul Farinella, drums — Trenton Bill Felter, drums — Bordentown Ron Hansen, trombone — Morrisville, Pennsylvania

Roy Hasty, tuba — Trenton Russ Jenkins, trumpet — Trenton Franz Mayer, drums — Trenton Frank Miller, saxophone — Hamilton Square

James Penkala, baritone — Trenton James Peraino, saxophone — Cranbury

John Peraino, band leader – Trenton Sarah Peraino, assistant – Trenton Nate Pratico, tuba – Trenton Al Procassini, trombone – West Chester, Pennsylvania

Nick Sciarrotta, trumpet — Trenton Aldo Stagi, baritone — Yardley, Pennsylvania

Andrew Wierzbowski, clarinet – Trenton

Oktoberfest

Bernie Bunger, Sr., dance – Scotch Plains

Bernie Bunger, band leader – Piscataway

Betty Bunger, cooking – Piscataway Elfreide Bunger, dance – Scotch Plains

Bill Mueller, drums/vocals – Union Karl Pfeifer, singing – Franklin Lake Dana Sylvander, brass – Englewood John Van Decker, brass – Avenel *Queimada Ritual*

Arturo Lopez-Dominguez, coordinator – Newark

"Anduriña" Bagpipers
Alvaro Castro – Bayonne
Carlos Corbacho, director – Newark
Jorge Femandez, Jr. – Newark
Francisco Lara, drums – Newark
Amador Lopez – Irvington
José Noguerol – Newark

José Noguerol, Jr. – Newark Ballet Folklore "Alborada" Linda Acebo – Newark Herminio Alvarez – Newark

Julio Barreiro -- Irvington Manolo Lago, director -- Irvington

Julia Lara – Newark Emilio Lopez – Harrison Dorothy Ventoso – Keamy

Isabel Ventoso – Lyndhurst Nancy Villanueva North Arlington Hispania: Coral Polifonica

Manuel Alonso – Kearny Juan Alvarez – Roselle Park Donato Barreiro – Newark Agustina Caamaño – Newark

Marcelino Caamaño – Newark Alezandro Cobelo – Newark Eugenio Fernandez – Newark

Maria Fernandez – Newark
Clementina Garcia – Newark
Manuel Garcia, choral director

Manuel Garcia, choral director – Califon

Santiago Garcia – Newark Maria Rodriguez Gil – Brooklyn, New York

Ana Maria Gomez – Newark Maria Dolores Gonzalez – Newark Ramona Gonzalez – Newark Francisca Lopez — Harrison Manuela Lopez — Harrison Manuel Malvarez — Newark Maria del Carmen Maza — Kearny Immaculada Mendez — Newark Maria Mendez — Newark Emilio Nepomuceno — Newark Francisco Platas — Linden Herminia Rodriguez — Kearny Josefa Salgado — Newark Maritime Area

Robert Ames, Menhaden chanties – Port Norris

Bernie Borrelli, boat building – Lavallette

Owen Carney, salt hay ropemaking —Port Norris

Donald Cisrow, oyster shucking/ gospel singing – Port Norris

Evelyn Cisrow, oyster shucking/ gospel singing — Port Norris Sarah Cisrow, oyster shucking/

gospel singing – Port Norris Joseph Gibbs, oyster shucking/

gospel singing — Port Norris Gary Giberson, decoy carving — Port Republic

Robert Lee Hamon, Menhaden chanties—Port Norris

Charles Hankins, boat building — Lavallette

Anthony Hillman, boat building/ decoy carving — Seaville

Sam Hunt, boat building— Waretown

Oliver Johnson, Menhaden chanties -- Port Norris

William Richardson, lobster trap making – Keyport

Mrs. William Richardson, lobster trap making – Keyport

Harry Shourds, decoy carving — Seaville

Henry Weldon, rush seat weaving —

Beryl Whittington, oyster shucking/ gospel singing — Port Norris Music

Herb Abramson, Walter Rhodes manager — New York, New York Saul Betesh, Sephardic oud — Deal Walter Rhodes, blues singing/guitar — Paterson

Tex Logan Band

Jimmy Arnold, fiddle/hanjo/guitar — Fredericksburg, Virginia

Chad Bruce, drums/harmonica/vocals – Fairfax, Virginia

John Carlini, guitar/bass —Summit Ken Gallahan, rhythm guitar — Alexandria, Virginia

Joey Greene, mandolin/banjo — Fredericksburg, Virginia Wade Hill, banjo/ mandolin —

Fredericksburg, Virginia Benjaman Franklin "Tex" Logan, fiddle — Madison

Peter Rowan, rhythm guitar/vocals

— Madison

"Doc" McKenzie and the Gospel Hi-Lites

Marvin Bradshaw, bass – Paterson Darryl Henley, guitar – Paterson Greg Herbert, organ – Paterson Abraham McKenzie, vocals – Paterson

David McKenzie, vocals – Paterson Milbert "Doc" McKenzie, vocals – Paterson

Henry Redmond, drums – Paterson William Wribbee, vocals – Paterson Pure Water

Charles Banks, Jr., vocals – Newark Joe Briscoe, vocals – Newark Terrance Forward, vocals – Newark Wayne Johnson, vocals – Irvington Johnny Shipley, group leader – Newark

Silk

Joseph Grauso, weaving – Elmwood Park

Roy Harris, weaving – Bensalem, Pennsylvania

Prince Hatley, weaving — Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Traditional Medicine & Pharmacology

Fred Anderson, glassblower – Sun-City, Arizona

Evidio Espinosa, herbalist -- West New York

Louis Molinari, glassblower — Stirling Efrain Osorio, herbalist — Newark Alvin Segelman, pharmacognosist — Piscataway

French Participants

Emile Boublin, basketmaking – Anjou

Jeannie Bourdin, lacemaking – Auvergne

Philippe Guérin, stone cutting – Bourbonnais

Eveline Saulzet Paris, cheese making — Bourbonnais

Angeline B. Rambaud, hand spindling — Poitou *Music*

Georges Belz, singing — Bretagne Alice Brochet, ballads — Poitou Olivier Durif, accordion — Auvergne Philippe Janvier, dance, oboe — Bretagne

Michel Kerheuf, hurdy-gurdy— Poitou

Jean Le Meut, singing — Bretagne Jean Loïc Le Quellec, fiddle — Poitou Denis Le Vraux, accordion — Anjou Eric Marchand, singing — Bretagne Frèdéric Paris, hurdy-gurdy — Bourbonnais

Alain Pennel, accordion/bagpipes – Bretagne

Louis-Joseph Perrier, fiddle – Auvergne

Jean Pons, accordion — Auvergne Philippe Prieur, bagpipes — Berry Maximin Rambaud, fiddle — Poitou André Ricros, bagpipes — Auvergne Jean Paul Rieux, singing — Bretagne Joseph Ruols, bagpipes — Auvergne Jean François Vrod, fiddle —

Auvergne

French-American Participants

Crafts

Arthur Pellegrin, decoy carving – Houma, Louisiana

Rodney Richard, wood carving — Rangeley, Maine

Rodney Richard, Jr., wood carving— Portland, Maine

William Richard, wood carving— Phillips, Maine

Raymond Sedotal, boat building — Pierre Part, Louisiana Foodways

Elmo Ancelet, cooking – Lafayette, Louisiana

Maude Ancelet, cooking – Lafayette, Louisiana

Claudette Beaulieu, cooking— Madawaska, Maine *Music*

Alphonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin, accordion/vocals: triangle – Duralde, Louisiana

Dewey Balfa, fiddle/vocals – Basile, Louisiana

Inez Catalan, songs and ballads – Kaplan, Louisiana

Canray Fontenot, fiddle/vocals/ harmonica — Duralde, Louisiana

Didier Houde, songs and ballads – Gaspé, Quebec, Canada

Lionel Leleux, fiddle — Leleux, Louisiana

Joe Pommerleau, guitar — Rochester, New Hampshire

Felix Richard, accordion – Cankton, Louisiana

Sterling Richard, guitar, vocals — Cankton, Louisiana

Simon St. Pierre, fiddle — Smyrna Mills, Maine

La Famille Beaudoin

Lillian Beaudoin, piano/vocals— Burlington, Vermont Robert Beaudoin, harmonica—

Burlington, Vermont Wilfred "Willie" Beaudoin, fiddle –

Burlington, Vermont

Valère Dion, spoons – Burlington, Vermont

Beausoleil

David Doucet, guitar – Scott, Louisiana

Mike Doucet, fiddle/vocals — Lafayette, Louisiana

Errol Verret, accordion — Breaux Bridge, Louisiana

Billy Ware, triangle — Lafayette, Louisiana

The Lawtell Playboys

Delton Broussard, accordion — Lawtell, Louisiana

Jeffrey Broussard, drums — Lawtell, Louisiana

Linton Broussard, electric guitar — Lawtell, Louisiana

Calvin Carrière, fiddle – Opelousa, Louisiana

J.C. Gallow, frottoir — Eunice, Louisiana

Turtle Mountain Dancers Sandy Gourneau, dance – Belcourt, North Dakota Brian Johnson, guitar — Bismarck, North Dakota Ed Johnson, fiddle — Bismarck, North Dakota Martin Trottier, dance — Rolla, North

National Endowment for the Arts National Heritage Fellowships Program

Fellowship Recipients

Dakota

Sister Mildred Barker, Shaker hymn singing – Poland Spring, Maine

Rafael Cepeda, Afro Puerto Rican music and dance — Santurce, Puerto Rico

Ray Hicks, Appalachian storytelling

Banner Elk, North Carolina
 Stanley Hicks, Appalachian instrument making, music and storytelling – Vilas, North Carolina

John Lee Hooker, blues guitar and singing – San Carlos, California

Mike "Papa" Manteo, Sicilian American puppettry—Staten Island, New York

Narciso Martinez, Texas-Mexican conjunto accordion – San Benito, Texas

Lanier Meaders, southern pottery – Cleveland, Georgia

Almeda Riddle, Ozark ballads – Greers Ferry, Arkansas

Simon St. Pierre, French-Canadian fiddle – Smyrna Mills, Maine

liddle — Smyrna Mills, Maine Joe Shannon, Irish-American *uilleann* pipes — Chicago, Illinois

Alex Stewart, Appalachian coopering and woodworking – Sneedville, Tennessee

Ada Thomas, Chitimacha basketmaking – Charenton, Louisiana Lucinda Toomer, Black quiltmaking

Columbus, Georgia
 Dewey Williams, Black sacred harp

singing — Ozark, Alabama Lem Ward, Chesapeake Bay decoy carving — Crisfield, Maryland Participants

Crafts

Mozell Benson, Błack quiltmaking – Waverly, Alabama

Jesus Cepeda, *pandereta* (tambourine) making—Santurce, Puerto Rico

Bill Henry, coopering whittling— Oak Ridge, Tennessee Oliver Lawson, duck decoy carving

Cleater J. Meaders, Jr., southern

pottery — Georgia Rick Stewart, coopering — Sneed-

ville, Tennessee Music

Sister Frances Carr, Shaker singing — Poland Spring, Maine Liz Carroll, Irish fiddle — Chicago,

Illinois Brother Arnold Haddad, Shaker

singing – Poland Spring, Maine Pedro Juarez, *bajo sexto* – Browns-

Brother Theodore Johnson, Shaker singing – Poland Spring, Maine

James Keene, accordion - Queens, New York Johnny McGreevy, Irish fiddle – Oaklawn, Illinois Mick Moloney, tenor banjo, mandolin - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Robbie O'Connell, guitar/vocals-Franklin, Massachusetts Jerry O'Sullivan, Irish *uilleann* pipes Yonkers, New York Hattie Presnell, Appalachian music-Banner Elk, North Carolina Frank Proffitt, Jr., Appalachian music and storytelling - Todd, North Carolina Isaiah Ross, blues guitar and har-monica – Flint, Michigan Sabino Salinas, tololoche (bass) — Brownsville, Texas La Familia Cepeda: Afro Puerto Rican Music and Dance Group Alba Rosario Cepeda Caridad Brenes Cepeda Carlos Cepeda Jesus Cepeda Julia Caridad Cepeda Luis Cepeda Margarita Sanchez Cepeda Mario Cepeda Orlando Cepeda Petra Cepeda Iose Lopez Milagros Mojica Jose Calderon Pou Wiregrass Sacred Harp Singers Annie Joy Belcher – Ozark, Alabama Gladys Bivins - Ozark, Alabama Pauline Griggs - Dothan, Alabama Bernice Williams Harvey - Ozark, Alabama Henry Jackson — Ozark, Alabama

Willie Nell Lewis - Winterhaven, Robert Reynolds, Jr. - Abbeyville,

Alahama

Alice Williams - Ozark, Alabama

Flight Program **Participants**

Velta Benn, pilot - Alexandria, Virginia Clyde Blankinship, pilot - Newnan,

Georgia

Denise Blankinship, pilot-Newnan, Georgia

Ralph Brazzell, maintenance worker - Monroe, Louisiana

Kate Connelly, flight attendant -Falls Church, Virginia

Tom Cornell, pilot—Alexandria, Virginia

Scott Crossfield, test pilot — Herndon, Virginia

Lawrence W. Davis, Pullman Porter -Washington, D.C.

Walt Echwald, pilot - Falls Church, Virginia

Ernest Ford, Jr., Pullman Porter -Washington, D.C William "Tex" Guthrie, pilot -

Vienna, Virginia David Harris, pilot - Dallas, Texas Karl Heinzel, aircraft restorer -- Mt.

Vernon, Virginia

Richard Horigan, aircraft restorer -Hyattsville, Maryland

Jean Ross Howard, helicopter pilot-Washington, D.C.

Penny Houghton, pilot-Washington, D.C.

Max Karant, pilot - Bethesda, Maryland

Joyce Kiser, flight attendant -Alexandria, Virginia

Clay Koonts, flight attendant -Alexandria, Virginia

Susan Koonts, flight attendant -Alexandria, Virginia

Debbie Mathis, flight attendant -Alexandria, Virginia

Ken Medley, pilot - Arlington, Virginia

William D. Miller, Pullman Porter – Washington, D.C

Eddie O'Donnell, pilot – Fairfax, Virginia

Eddie Poindexter, maintenance worker - Morrow, Georgia

Leroy C. Richie, Pullman Porter -Washington, D.C.

Ron Rivers, maintenance worker -Decatur, Georgia

Kathy Shields, flight attendant -Arlington, Virginia

Clarice Smith, flight attendant -Alexandria, Virginia

Bonnie Tiburzi, pilot - New York, New York

James Waters, pilot – Alexandria, Virginia

Fay Wells, pilot - Alexandria, Virginia Howell Williams, maintenance worker - Griffin, Georgia

Rachel Woodings, flight attendant -Falls Church, Virginia

Festival Sampler

Participants John Cepĥas, guitar/vocals – Wash-

ington, D.C.

James Jackson, guitar – Fairfax Station, Virginia

John Jackson, guitar/vocals - Fairfax Station, Virginia

Phil Wiggins, harmonica vocals-Washington, D.C.

Charlie Sayles Blues Band Darryl Anderson, bass guitar -Washington, D.C.

Tyrone Griggs, drums - Washington, D.C.

Dave Owens, guitar - Washington, D.C.

Charlie Savles, harmonica - Wash-

ington, D.C.

Larry Wise, harmonica/vocals-Takoma Park, Maryland

Groupo Kubanakan - Afro-Cuban Music

Roberto Batista - Washington, D.C. Victor Bellnas – Washington, D.C Jorge Garcia - Washington, D.C.

Ernesto Guerra -- Washington, D.C. Lorenzo Peñalber - Washington,

Francisco Rigore - Washington, D.C. Nelson Rodriguez - Washington,

Hector Taveo - Washington, D.C. Pedro Valdez - Washington, D.C.

Thursday, June 30 Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for

specific information.

have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael Auditorium, American History Museum.

able upon request at the Volunteers Tent Volunteer interpreters will be avail-A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the Festival Sampler Stage

French/Fren Prog

	9	00:11	17:00	2.00		9		2:00
u	French- American Foodways Tent	Demonstra- tions all day: Cajun foodways	Louisiana & & Acadian foodways from Maine					
French/French-American Program	French Crafts Tent French- American Crafts Tent	French craft demonstra- tions all day: lace	making, basket- making, stone cutting, spinning,	making, cheese- making French- American	demonstra- tions all day: boat- building, decoy	wood		the
nch/French-A Program	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Regional Music & Dance of France	French- American Occupa- tional Folklife	Regional Music & Dance of France	Storytelling Mardi Gras	Celebration	& & Ballads	Zydeco Music Held in cooperation with the
Frer	Music Stage	Music & Dance of France French-Canadian Fiddling	Cajun Music	Songs and Ballads Old-Time Creole Music	Mitchif Indian Music Music Percussion Sryles	Regional Music & Dance of France	Cajun Music	Zydeco Music Held in coop
am	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Ongoing presentation of pilots' scrapbooks, old log	books & other material culture, & informal discussion	with pilots Ongoing presenta- tion of flight attendants'	material culture of the occupation	discussion with flight attendants		the
Aviation Program	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures 11.60	1:00 8 8 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & Demonstra- tions	contempo- rary airline main- tenance		Held in cooperation with the
Avia	Narrative Stage		Women in Aviation		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics	Held in coop
Festival Sampler	Music Stage	Blacs	Blacs	Regional Music & Dance of France	Afro- Cuban Music	Blues	French- Canadian Fiddling	
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day	Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops	3:00				
	Celebra- tions Area	Shape Note Singing	Bon Festival Workshop	Alabama Day Work- shop	Bon Festival Workshop	Shape Note Singing School	Bon Festival Dance and Drum	
ey Program	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by berbalists,	ceutical glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular	chemist Workshops 12:00 & 3:00				
New Jersey Program	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Labor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	. Festival
	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day: boat- building, decoy	carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropemaking, rush scat	oyster oyster shucking, sea chanties Demonstra-	tions of oyster shucking 11:00 & 2:00			Held in cooperation with Festival
	Music Stage	A Cappella Quintet	Blues	Music of The Pine Barrens Traditional Religious Music	Hispanic Music	Cospel	Swing	Held in coop
		11:00	12:00-	1:00-	60.7	3:00	-00:	-00 :

Government of France

National Air and Space Museum

Find any sign language interpreter will be a sign language interpreter will be on the French/French-American Stage available from 11:00-5:30 in the New Schedules are subject to change.

have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds. Musical performances at the Festival

specule information.	restival 30	restival o	restival s	ival S	ampi	er				Ş	Auditor	Auditorium, American History Museum	an History M	useum.
New Jersey Program	cw Jersey Program	y Program				Festival Sampler	Avi	Aviation Program	ram	Ŧ	rench/Fre	French/French-American Program	rican	
Maritime Silk & tions Area Area Area Cology	Traditional Medicine Celebra- & tions Pharma- Area cology	Celebra- tions Area		Agricul- ture Area		Music Stage	Narrative Stage	Skills Demon- strations Area	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Music Stage	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Erench Crafts Tent French- American Crafts Tent	French- American Foodways Tent	11.00
Demonstrations Weaving tions Weaving tions all day bont tion building tion herbalists, Drum all day brilding.	Demonstra- tions Bon Festival all day Dance and by Drum herbalists,	Bon Festival Dance and Drum		Family produce stand sales all day		Mitchif Indian Music & Dance		Demonstra- tions of pilots cockpit procedures	Ongoing presentation of pilots scrapbooks, old for	Regional Music & Dance of France	Fiddle Styles: Creole, Cajun & Zydeco	French craft demonstra- tions all day: lace	Demonstra- tions all day: Cajun foodways	0000
R. Silk hlowers. Shape Note plench workshop chemist, molecular w	eeutical glass- hlowers. Shape Note bench Singing chemist, notecular	Shape Note Singing		Jersev crops planted or Mall	- x	Blucs	Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures	hooks, & other material culture, & informal	tive Musical Styles French- Canadian	French- American Crafts	making, basket- making, stone cutting, spinning,	Louisiana & Acadian foodways from	15:00
skincking, weaving workshops Bon Festival 3.00 workshop workshop 8.00 wo	Morkshops Bon Festival 12.00 Workshop & 3.00	Bon Festival Workshop		7:00 % 3:00 3:00		Afro- Cuban Music		1:00 & & 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Unscribing With pilots Ongoing presentation of flight	Fiddling Old-Time Creole Music	Dance Workshop: Brittany	making, cheese- making French-		7.00
oyster Silk Alabama Alucking Silk Day 1.00 Process Day & Workshop 2.00 Workshop		Alabama Day Workshop	Alabama Day Workshop			Blucs	Pioneers in Aviation	Wiscman- Cooke Biplane & Lemonstra- tions all day of	ntemora- bilia & material culture of the occupation	Songs & & Ballads Gajun Music	Regional Music & Dance of France	demonstra- tions all day: boat- building,		00.4
Labor History Workshop		Bon Festival Workshop	Bon Festival Workshop			Regional Music & Dance of France		contempo- rary airline main- tenance	informal discussion with flight attendants	Mitchif Indian Music Regional	Ballad Workshop	Carving. wood Carving		Š
Weaving Shape Note Singing Singing school		Shape Note Singing School	Shape Note Singing School			Blues	Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics			Music & Dance of France	French- American Occupa- tional Folklife			7.00
										Music				00%
Held in cooperation with Festival	estival						Held in cooperation with the	Held in cooperation with the	the	Held in cooperation with the	Held in cooperation with	h the		_

Government of France

National Air and Space Museum

New Jersey '83!

Saturday, July 2 Dance/Concert 5:30-6:45 p.m. Schedules are subject to change. Evening Concert at 7-00

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

French/French-American Music at the Sylvan Theatre:

A sign language interpreter will be shop/Narrative Stage

able upon request at the Volunteers Tent Volunteer interpreters will be avail-French/French-American Workavailable from 11:00-5:30 at the

from the Music Performance Trust Funds. have been partially funded by a grant Musical performances at the Festival

Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael

Auditorium, American History Museum.

	5	00001	715:00	000	7:00	0000	00 H	2:00	
_	French- American Foodways Tent	Demonstra- tions all day: Cajun foodways	Louisiana & Acadian foodways from Maine						
n-America um	French Crafts Tent French- American Crafts Tent	French craft demonstra- tions all day: lace	making, hasket- making, stone cutting, spinning,	making, cheese- making French-	craft demonstra- tions all day: boat- building, decoy	carving, wood carving			the
French/French-American Program	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Percussion Workshop	French. American Occupa- tional Folklife	Regional Music & Dance of France	French American Foodways Regional Music &	Dance of France Songs	Ballads Cajun Music	:	Held in cooperation with the Government of France
Fren	Music Stage	Comparative Fiddle Styles Regional	Music & Dance of France Cajun	Songs & & Ballads	Mitchif Indiao Music Old-Time Creole Music of	Louisiana French- Canadian Fiddling	Regional Music & Dance of France	Zydeco Music	Held in cooperation w Government of France
u .	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Ongoing presentation of pilots' scrapbooks,	books, & other material culture, &	discussion with pilots Ongoing presenta- tion of flight attendants'	memora- bilia & material culture of the occupation &	informal discussion with flight attendants			he seum
Aviation Program	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures	11:00 1:00 & 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & Demonstra- tions	contempo- rary airline main- tenance		:	Held in cooperation with the National Air and Space Museum
Aviati	Narrative Stage		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		General Aviation		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Held in coop National Air a
Festival Sampler	Music Stage	Cajun Music	Віпсъ	Blues	Regional Music & Dance of France	Blues	Afro- Cuban Music		
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day 22 New	Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops	3.00					
	Celebra- tions Area	Shape Note Singing	Bon Festival Dance and Drum	The Feast of Our Lady of Casadrino Celchration					
New Jersey Program	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by herhalists,	ceutical glass- hlowers, bench chemist, molecular	chemist Workshops 12:00 & & 3:00					
New Jerse	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Labor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion		Festival
	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day: boat- building, decoy	carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropemaking, rush seat	oyster shucking. sea chanties	tions of oyster shucking 11:00 & & 2:00				Held in cooperation with Festival New Jersey '83!
	Music Stage	Music of the Pine Barrens	A Cappella Quintet	Traditional Religious Music	Hispanic Music	Swing Blues	Gospel	li bia	Held in coopera New Jersey '83!
	001	12.00	00.1	00.	3.00	4.00			

Sunday, July 3 Dance/Concert 5:30-6:45 p.m. on the Festival Sampler Stage and French/French-American S

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

and French/French-American Stage Evening Concert at 7:00 p.m.

at the Sylvan Theatre: New Jersey Music

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the New able upon request at the Volunteers Jersey Music Stage Volunteer interpreters will be avail-

Musical performances at the Festival have been partially funded by a grant from the Music Performance Trust Funds.

Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael

Auditorium, American History Museum.

	9	13.00	17500	00:1	00.5);;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;;	2:00	
u	French- American Foodways Tent	Demonstra- tions all day: Cajun foodways from	Louisiana & Acadian foodways from Maine					
n-America um	French Crafts Tent French- American Crafts Tent	French craft demonstra- tions all day: lace	making, basket, making, stone cutting, spiraing,	making, cheese- making French- American	demonstra- tions all day: boat- building- decoy	carving wood carving		the
French/French-American Program	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	French- Canadian Fiddling	American Crafts Regional Music &	France Story- telling	Regional Music & Dance of France	French. American Occupa- tional	Mardi Gras Celebra- tion	eration with
Fren	Music	Old-Time Creole Music Regional Music &	Dance of France Songs & & Ballads	Cajun Music	Zydeco Music Mitchif Indian Music	Cajun Music Regional	Music & Dance of France France French-Canadian Fiddling	Held in cooperation with the Government of France
m	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Ongoing presentation of pilots' scrapbooks, old log	books. & other material culture, & informal	Ongoing presentation of flight attendants	memora- bilia & material culture of the occupation	informal discussion with flight attendants		the
Aviation Program	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures &	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures	1:00 & & 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & A Demonstra- tions	contempo- rary airlinc main- tenance		Held in cooperation with the National Air and Space Museum
Aviat	Narrative Stage		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Service Jobs in Trans- portation: Pullman Porters & Flight		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics	Held in coop National Air
Festival Sampler	Music Stage	Blacs	Mitchif Indian Music & Dance	Blues	Afro- Cuban Music	Blues	Regional Music & Dance of France	
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day	Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops	3:00				
	Celebra- tions Area	Bon Festival Dance and Drum	Bon Festival Workshop	Alabama Day Celebration				
New Jersey Program	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by herbalists,	centical glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular	Chemist Workshops 12:00 8 8 3:00				
New Jersc	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Lahor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Festival
	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day- boat- building, decoy	carving, lobster rap making, salt hay ropemaking, rush seat	wearing, oyster shucking, sea chanties Demonstra-	tions of oyster shucking 11:00 & 2:00			Held in cooperation with Festival
	Music Stage	(rospel	Traditional Religious Music	Music of the Pine Barrens	Swing	A Cappella Quintet Blues	Hispanic Music	Held in coopera
	90	0000	1.200	Tion	2.00	00:0	5:00-	

Monday, July 4

Check signs in each program area for specific information.

A sign language interpreter will be available from 11:00-5:30 at the French/French-American Music Stage

able upon request at the Volunteers Tent Volunteer interpreters will be avail-

from the Music Performance Trust Funds. have been partially funded by a grant Musical performances at the Festival

Auditorium, American History Museum. Films and a discussion period will be held from 2:00-4:00 in Carmichael

	90		15:00	00:1	7.000	00:6	- 5:00	
an	French- American Foodways Tent	Demonstra- tions all day: Cajun foodways	Louisiana & Acadian frodways from Maine					
th-Americ	French Crafts Tent French- American Crafts Tent	French craft demonstra- tions all day.	making, basket- making, stone cutting, spinning,	making, cheese- making French-	craft demonstra- tions all day: boat- building decoy	carving. wood carving		the
French/French-American Program	Workshop/ Narrative Stage	Mitchif Indian Music & Dance	American Crafts French Bagpipe	Workshop Accordion Workshop	French- American Foodways Regional Music &	France Story.	Regional Music & Dance of France	eration with
Fre	Music Stage	Regional Music & Dance of France	Cajun Music Compara- tive Estado	Styles Songs & Ballads	Mitchif Indian Music French Canadian	Cajun Music	Regional Music & Dance of France	Music Held in cooperation with the Government of France
am	Pilots Corner Flight Attendants Corner	Ongoing presentation of pilots' scrapbooks,	books, & other material culture, & informal	discussion with pilots Ongoing presenta- tion of flight	memora- bilia & material culture of the occupation &	informal discussion with flight attendants		the
Aviation Program	Skills Demon- strations Area	Demonstra- tions of pilots' cockpit procedures	flight attendants' safety procedures & cabin procedures	11:00 . 1:00 & 3:00 Restoration of 1910	Wiseman- Cooke Biplane & Demonstra- tions	contempo- rary airline main- tenance		Held in cooperation with the National Air and Space Museum
Avia	Narrative Stage		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics		Service Jobs in Trans- portation: Pullman Porters & Flight		Airline personnel discuss a variety of aviation topics	Held in coop National Air
Festival Sampler	Music	Blues	Afro- Cuban Music	Mitchif Indian Music & Dance	Zydeco	Blues	Blucs	
	Agricul- ture Area	Family produce stand sales all day	Jersey crops planted on Mall Workshops	11:00 & 3:00				
	Celebra- tions Area	Alabama Day Workshop	Shape Note Singing School	Bon Festival Celebration				
New Jersey Program	Traditional Medicine & Pharma- cology	Demonstra- tions all day by herhalists,	centical glass- blowers, bench chemist, molecular	systems chemist Workshops 12:00 & 8.				
New Jerse	Silk Industry	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk: Process Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Silk Process Workshop	Labor History Workshop	Weaving Demonstra- tion	Festival
I	Maritime Area	Demonstra- tions all day: boat- building,	carving, lobster trap making, salt hay ropenaking,	weaving. oyster shucking. sea chantics	Demonstra-	oyster shucking 11:00 & 2:00		Held in cooperation with Festival New Jerscy '83!
	Music Stage	Swing	Blues	Music of the Pine Barrens	Hispanic Music	Traditional Religious Music	A Cappella Quintet	Held in coopera New Jerscy '83!
	00	00:11	12:00	00:1	2:00	90.5	5:00-	

"So," he said, "'Cap, we better go. We got no more baskets, no boxes, got no nothin'. No place to put them." I said, "Don't you worry about putting them. I'll find a place to put them."

So, I got plenty of potato sacks. Hot weather, I always carry plenty of potato sacks. I had plenty of ice because I anticipated a pretty good lift that day. So I put them wet bags down and I throwed that ice down on the bottom, and I said, "We're ready now. Throw them right down in there." We got the last line, and we had them right up to the top of the engine box and the edge of the boat.

We come in and I said, "Tell me we ain't got a thousand." They said, "I doubt it, Cap. It takes a lot of lobster." And we come in, and we put out, and we had a thousand and thirty-eight pounds! And that was the biggest day I ever had.

As can be seen, in the composition of the lifestyle and lore of New Jersey harvesters, man and nature are the co-authors.

Astronomical Calculations for 1860,

Being Lenp Year, and, until July 4th, the eighty-fourth of American Independence.

FCLIPSES FOR 1860.

I. An Annular Eclipse of the Sun, January 22d, invisible in America.

II. A Partial Eclipse of the Moon, February 6th, in the evening, visible. At New York it begins at 8 o'clock p. m. Greatest magnitude, 9 h. 33 m. Ends at 10 h. 89 m. Size, 9,744

digits.

III. A Total Eclipse of the Sun, July 18th, in the morning; but it will be a partial Eclipse in all of the United States, except the western part of Oregon. At New York, the Eclipse begins at 7 h. 10 m., and ends at 9 h. 0 m. Size, about 5 digits,

IV. A Partial Eclipse of the Moon, August 1st, invisible in the United States.

THE TWELVE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC Maries, a Ram. Head.

M Gemini, The Twins. Arms.

Ω Leo, A Lion. Heart.

ഥ Libra. A Balance. Reins.

A Sagittarius Archer. Thighs.

zz -Aquarius, A Butler. Legs.



) (Pisces, Fishes. Feet.

The year 5821 of the Jewish era commences on September 17, 1860.

The year 1277 of the Malagnedup era commences on July 20, 1860. The year 1277 of the Mohanicdan era commences on July 20, 1860. Month of Abstinence observed by the Turks commences March 24, 1860.

COMMON NOTES FOR 1800.

Dominical Letters..... A G Golden Number, (Lunar Cycle),.... 18 Epact, (Moon's ago Jon. 1st) Solar Cycle..... Reman Indiction Julian Period...... 6573

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FOUR SEASONS.

Taurus,

A Bull.

Neck.

69 Cancer,

A Crab.

Brenst.

mp Virgo, A Virgin

Bowels.

M Scorpio

A Scorpion

Loins.

无 Capricorn,

A Goat. Knees.

D.	п.	M.
Spring, March20	3	45m
Summer, June21		23m
Autumn, September22	2	32e
Winter, December21	8	31m

VENUS () will be our Eveolnig Star until the 18th day of July, then Morning Star until the end of the year.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1859, by T. D. EAGAL and R. H. SYLVESTER, lu the Clerk's Office of the District of Iowa.

Rita Moonsammy is Folk Arts Coordinator at the New Jersey State Council on the Arts. She conducted fieldwork in the Delaware Bay Region for the National Endowment for the Arts/New Jersey State Council on the Arts Folk Artists-in-Education Program.

Suggested reading

Federal Writers' Project. Stories of New Jersey: Its Significant Places, People, and Activities. New York: M. Barrows and Company, 1938. Rolfs, Donald H. Under Sail: The Dredgeboats of Delaware Bay: Millville: The Wheaton Historical Association, 1971.

Schmidt, Hubert G. Agriculture in New Jersey: A Three-Hundred Year History: New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1973

Weygandt, Cornelius. Down Jersey: Folks and Their Jobs, Pine Barrens, Salt Marsh and Sea Islands. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940.

A depiction of the zodiac from the 19th century farmer's almanac. The phases of the moon as well as the moon's place in the zodiac have long been used as a guide for planting crops. Photo Courtesy of 19th century Farmer's Almanac

Traditional Dance in France by John Wright

A striking impression on anyone travelling in France is the infinite variety of landscape, climatic conditions, vegetation and architecture concentrated into a relatively small area. The culture of France's people reveals a similar variety despite a long tradition of highly centralized government administration.

Standard French, although the official language since the 16th century, was spoken as a mother tongue by less than half of the population until the beginning of this century. In the North, communities spoke Flemish, in the North-East, Alsatian – a German dialect – and in the West, Breton – a Celtic language related to Welsh and Old Cornish – while almost the entire Southern half of the country spoke Occitan (*Langue d'Oc*). Additionally, in the Pyrennées, Basque and Catalan were spoken, and in Corsica dialects of Italian and Sarde. Despite the vigorous efforts of public educators to eradicate their use in France, these languages remain vital to this day and contribute greatly to the cultural diversity of the country.

A study of some French dances and their music can provide useful insight into this diversity, for it brings into relief patterns of relationship within the French society, as well as the society's reaction to outside influences. A good picture of the latter can be gained through publications in dance history, for France was always in the forefront of this field. A large number of dance collections and dance tutors have been published since the 16th century which provide adequate information for comparison between distinct folk cultures in France.

The French/French-American Program bas been made possible through the assistance of Air France, to mark its 50th anniversary, and the generous support of the Government of France.



Probably the most ancient dance form in France is the *branle*, which dates back at least to the Medieval period. It is a group dance in which people link hands or arms to form either a ring or a chain, moving in a gradual progression to the left. Although musical instruments are used (e.g., *biniou* [bagpipe] and *bombarde* [double-reeded shawm] in Brittany; *saloubet* [pipe] and *tambourin* [tabor] in Provence), the most important musical regulator for these dances are the unaccompanied voices, most often in responsorial-singing, where the lead-singer intones a line which the crowd then repeats. This lengthens the duration of a song sufficiently to provide a good long dance. Such dances have survived mostly in the West and are usually associated with Brittany, although *branles* are also found in Normandy, the Vendéen *Marais* or Fenlands, Gascony, Bearn and Provence. Traces of the *branle* are also found in Berry and the Massif Central.

Various musical forms are used for the *branles*. The tunes are often quite narrow in range, sometimes no more than a fourth or a fifth and rarely exceeding an octave, but an amazing number of rich forms can be constructed from four, five or even three-note melodies. Where the dance-steps are more complex, the tunes tend to follow the rhythmic pattern of the dance, but simple steps are often compensated for by intricate polyrhythms resulting from the melodies, such as four or six beats being danced to tunes based on units of five or seven beats.

Another dance form which also reflects the cultural diversity of France is the bourrée. Throughout the mountains of the Massif Central (Auvergne, Limousin, Velay, Rovergne) and the Central Provinces of Berry, Bourbonnais and Marche, the bourrée still reigns supreme. Scholars disagree as to the antiquity of this dance, but in any event it is quite old. In its basic form, two men "size-up" each other while displaying suppleness and invention. The bourrée is also sometimes danced with a larger number of participants forming a ring, more often than not without hand or body contact. A long tradition of regional costumed folk-dance groups has resulted in many of these bourrées becoming somewhat codified and stilted, but older dancers still show tremendous invention, especially in their footwork and use of available space. In Auvergne, the bourrée is always in 3/4 time, its tempo about the speed of a fast waltz, but its performance with much more lift to it. Melodically it usually consists of two repeated phrases, while the number of bars in a phrase varies. (Three and four are the most common today, though five or six-bar phrases are often played by older musicians.) In the Central Provinces, bourrées are often in 2/4 time and consist almost exclusively of four-bar phrases.

At one time folk dances were often led by a singer who did not take part in the dance proper, as there were no responses. Instead, he stood to one side and marked time by pounding a staff on the ground (mener au bâton). But today more sophisticated musical instruments accompany the dance. In Auvergne, for instance, the cabrette bagpipe is the favorite instrument for the bourrée, but there are also several other varieties of bagpipe in the Central Provinces. (There are probably more different types of bagpipe in France than any other country, except perhaps Poland.) Berry and Bourbonnais favor the vielle à roue (hurdy-gurdy) for accompaniment, where Northern Auvergne and Corrèze use the fiddle. More modern instruments, such as the melodeon and chromatic accordions, play an important part in keeping these dances alive as well. In regular Saturday night dances the bourrée still has its place among tangos, paso dobles, marches and the like.

A very important urban influence throughout the French countryside was that of the *contredanse*, equivalent to the English country dance in the 17th century and adopted by the French at the beginning of the 18th century. In this dance the emphasis is on the relative positions of the dancers and the constantly changing figures they form. Originally there were a number of basic figures or sets, but where the English eventually adopted the long sets almost exclusively, the French preferred the square sets. These became the ancestors of the square dances of America and Quebec.

Towards the end of the 18th century the French *contredanse* became more and more a play between the opposite sides of the square, which eventually gave rise to the *quadrille*. This latter form consisted of sequences of set figures,



Maximin Rambaud, a French fiddler from the province of Poitou, plays music for quadrilles and contre danses. Photo courtesy of Catherine Perner and John Wight.

John Wright came to Paris in 196" where be worked for five years in the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Musée de l'Homme and published a catalogue on the few's barp collection in the museum. He has collected French folk music with his wife Catherine Perrier, and published several recordings Currently be is researching pre-19th century violin making.

Suggested reading

Arbeau, Thoinot, *Orchesography*, trans. Mary Stewart Evans, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967.

Guilcher, Jean-Michel. *La Tradition Populaire* de Danse en Basse Bretagne. Paris: Mouton, 1963

Guilcher, Jean-Michel. *La Contredanse et les Renouvellements de la Danse Française*. Paris: Mouton, 1969.

tancelot, Francine. "Ecriture de la Danse: Le Système Feuillet," *Ethnologie Française*, Revue des ATP no. 1, 1971.

Suggested recordings

"Folk Music of France." In *The Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*. CBS 91A02003.

Musiques Traditionnelles des Pays de France. Chant du Monde LDX 74516.

Violoneux et Chanteurs Traditionnels en Auvergne (Cantal). Chant du Monde LDX 74516.

Viellenx du Bourbonnais Uexagone 883030. Ellebore: En Avant la Baptist Garraud! Ell.02. Kan Ha Diskan en Pays Vannetais. Vol. 1. Arfolk TH 704, Vol. II. Arfolk SB 378. Frères Pennec: Biniou, Bombarde. ALG 566 Chez Maximin, Violoneux. UPCOOP 020 each of which had a distinct name and tune – *en-avant deux, la poule, balancé, galop* and others. These forms spread all over the country and still survive in the Western Provinces (Poitou, Anjou, Normandy and Eastern Brittany) and in the South, especially Savoy and Corsica. In these areas the newer dances replaced the older repertoires, but in the regions where the *bomrée* reigned people adapted many of the *contredanse* figures to that dance. It is interesting that in the Western Provinces one figure, the *avant-deux*, has become detached from the *quadrille* to become a distinct dance, similar stylistically to some of the 2/4 *bourrées*. (Another late 18th century influence was the *pas d'été*, a sort of military virtuoso hornpipe introduced into many of the Western villages by retired army dancing masters. This military influence is also very strong in the Basque dances.)

The 1850s witnessed yet another big change in dance fashions – the couple-dances of mostly German or Polish origins. The first of these to reach the rural areas were polkas, schottisches, mazurkas and waltzes. The waltz, historically the oldest of these, seems to have arrived late and is associated more with 20th century repertoires of *javas* marches and Latin American dances. Sheet music edited by the Dupeyrat firm (founded in 1874) among others contributed to spreading these repertoires throughout the country, as the music was sought by brass bands, ballroom orchestras and, at the end of the chain, local musicians who usually learned the melodies by ear. The earlier tunes were easily assimilated by musicians accustomed to the older modal scales, but the Latin American and popular tunes of the 1930s were very different and few of the old fiddlers, for instance, were able to assimilate them into their repertoires. At the same time, the chromatic accordion, which demands a very different musical mentality from fiddling, has completely taken over for popular dancing.

In any general picture of dances and their music in France, one fact stands out: the penetration of outside influences into different social groups operates in an infinite number of ways. Some groups almost totally reject outside influences, while others accept them. Where Lower Brittany conserved very archaic forms until very recent times, the Western Provinces completely adopted 19th century dances and instrumental music, as did the North and Wallonie, who were always very up-to-date with all the latest Parisian developments. Nevertheless, Lower Breton musicians were always receptive to new good tunes and adapted a considerable amount of urban material to their own idiom, and in the Western Provinces fiddlers still play the more recent repertoire but use a very archaic-sounding drone technique. Moreover, in all these areas, the melodic tradition of songs not intended for dancing remains largely modal. But between the two extremes, one finds a host of nuances, for example the coexistance in certain parts of Upper Brittany of sung *branles* and 19th century *quadrilles* and couple-dances.

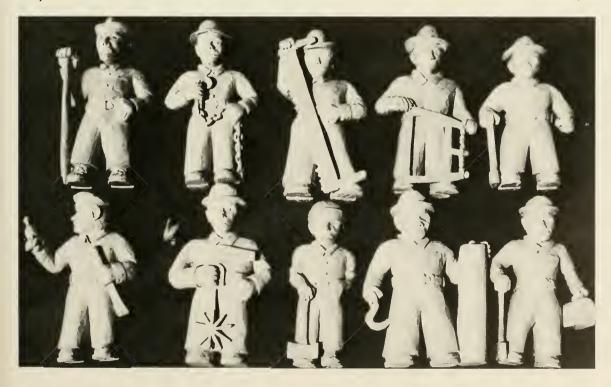
French-American Traditional Culture: An Overview by Kathy James

Between Maine and California can be found over 3,000 French place names, testimony to the zeal and dynamic spirit of the early North American French. Their first permanent settlement was at Quebec in 1608, a year following the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. Some were *babitants* (subsistence farmers), Catholic priests, and miners, but fully a third of them were full- or at least part-time fur-traders. This commerce dominated French interests in North America for 150 years. While the British colonists were still enclaved at the Atlantic Coast, the search for furs dispersed the French as far as the Rocky Mountains and beyond, the profits to be made in the fur trade inducing the French to develop great skills in Indian diplomacy and to seek good relations with distant Native American tribes.

Among the important Indian allies of the French fur-traders and the *voyagetrs* who carried the pelts back to Quebec were the Cree and Chippewa people, whom the French encountered during their initial explorations of the Great Lakes. Intermarriages of Frenchmen and women of these tribes resulted in the creation of a people who today continue traditions, language, and arts passed down from Indian and French forebears. Such a group are the 16,000 Mitchif Indians, half of whom live upon the small Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. (In Canada they are commonly called Métis [mixed].) Mitchif fiddlers play in the Quebec manner, beating a rhythm with their feet, while dancers such as the respected Mitchif patriarch, Alex Morin, beautifully fluent in French, perform the "Red River Jig," a dance that combines the European jig form with Indian dance steps and rhythmic cadences.

The British and French colonies were drawn into a series of wars and disputes in the New World that lasted for two centuries. These wars left an

Minature lumberjacks with traditional tools carved by Rodney Richard, a woodcarver and lumberjack of Acadian descent from Rangeley Lakes, Maine. Photo by Allen Carroll.





Alphonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin, a Creole musician from Duralde, Louisiana. Photo by Robert Yellin.

French-Speaking Houma Indian palmetto weaver from Dulac, Louisiana. Photo by Marjorie Hunt.

Kathryn James is an American of French descent from Cedartown, Georgia A field collector and student of traditional cultures she bus organized national and international towns of traditional American performing artists

Suggested reading

Barkan, Elliott Robert, "French Canadians" In Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 388-401. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980.

Hendrickson, Dyke. *Quiet Presence*. Portland, Maine: Guy Gannett Publishing Co., 1980 Thomas, Rosemary Hyde. *It's Good to Tell*

Yon: French Folktales from Missouri. Columbia, Missouri and London, England University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Suggested recordings

Louis Beaudoin. Philo Records 2000. (The Barn, North Ferrisburg, VT 05473.)

Louis "Piton" Bondreault, Violoneux: Musique et Danse Traditionnelle du Saguenay-LacSaint-Jean. Le Tamanor 27018. (Alta, 9375 rue Meaux, Saint-Leonard, Quebec.)

Music of French America. Rounder Records 6010. (186 Willow Avenue, Somerville, Mass 02144.)



indelible imprint not only upon the geography of the continent but also upon the direction of government and culture in North America. In the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, France ceded to Britain Nova Scotia (Acadia), Newfoundland and the vast Iludson Bay region. When the French residents of Acadia were reluctant to swear allegiance to the British crown, the British began drastic measures that culminated in the 1755 expulsion of the Acadians. After great hardships, many of these refugees from Canada settled the plains and prairies of southwestern Louisiana and eastern Texas where they now have at least 900,000 descendants, many of whom still speak French.

Both Britain and France viewed their colonies as sources of raw materials and a market for finished goods, but French control was much greater. The location of mineral resources, even at sites far removed from potential North American markets, created companies charged with extracting the material. A small pocket of French culture still extant in southeastern Missouri resulted from such a mining venture. When *voyageurs* noticed surface lead deposits on the west bank of the Mississippi, inflated stories about the richness of these deposits reached France. In 1719 Le Sieur Renault, scion of a smelting family, left France with a mining expedition of at least 200 members. In 1723, he received the earliest documented land grant in upper Louisiana. By 1742 his mining had ended, but some Frenchmen continued to live in the area. In time, their descendants became miners of the barite deposits (known locally as tiff) found with the lead. Some 400 French-speaking families still live in Washington County, Missouri, most of them near the area popularly called "Old Mines."

French government formally ended in North America with the Louisiana Purchase. Still, many thousands of French-speaking people remained, surrounded by Protestants and governed by systems most did not understand. In Quebec the French-speaking people suddenly became a minority in their own country. Feeling more abandoned than defeated, they turned inward to the two institutions left – the family and the church. In families and small communities they created a rich body of oral literature and a variety of folk musics. While their farms tended to be poor, due to the conditions of the soil and climate, their crafts flourished.

The opening of the mill towns of New England drew many thousands of Québecois south. The great majority of today's French-American New Englanders trace their ancestry to Quebec Province through those who came to take entry-level jobs in New England mills. A "Little Canada" can be found in most of the older mill towns, a place where poor Quebec workers lived. The late Louis Beaudoin, a brilliant French-American fiddler and many times a participant in the Festival of American Folklife, was a third generation American born in the "Little Canada" of Lowell, Massachusetts.

The French Americans have been partners in the cultural, economic and political development of North America from the beginning. They have left this country a cultural legacy rich in music, language, song, material culture, foodways and celebrations. Fortunately, the diversity of transplanted French culture is beginning to be appreciated for its contribution to the mosaic of the New World.

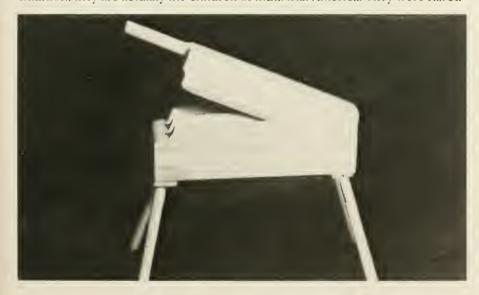
Living by the Music: Cohesive Influences in the Song Repertoire of French-American New Englanders by Deborah Waldman

It has always been a traditional attitude among French-Canadian folk singers that "le bonheur vient en chantant" (happiness comes with singing). The fraternal cultural organization La Société Richelieu expresses this social philosophy in a similar way: "chanter, c'est fraterniser" (to sing is to be together in brotherhood).

French-Canadian folk song represents an oral heritage which originally played a crucial role in the everyday life of the rural Québecois. Social life in Quebec before World War II centered around the activities of the parish, family and neighbors. Communally shared musical gatherings, known as *reillées*, were nearly universal, for public concerts and other entertainments were rare in a small village, if they occurred at all. The *reillée* served both as a reunion for old friends and relatives, and as an opportunity for young people to survey and actively court potential mates. Held in the large kitchen of some farm house, the *reillée* included dancing, clogging, playing of fiddles, accordions and spoons, singing, eating and drinking. Some families had pianos, and an evening of family singing at home was a common and popular pastime for many of today's older French New Englanders who were raised in the villages and countryside of Quebec.

Traditional French-Canadian music addresses interpersonal themes. The two most prevalent types of songs are in fact structured in performance to demand human interaction: the lively *chanson à repondre* features a leader who sings a few lines and is answered musically with a refrain sung by a group. The *chanson à deux* is an often humorous dialogue between two people. Thematically, it is not surprising that traditional songs of this heritage portray the topics, attitudes and multiple roles which characterized the everyday life of the French-Canadian *habitant* (farmer), housewife, sailor, lover, *voyageur* (traveler), *conreur du bois* (lumberjack), and members of the clergy.

Although the American-born descendants of French-Canadians are the offspring of people whose lives were naturally tailored to a rural and agrarian tradition, they are actually the children of Industrial America. They were raised A Braye a lin minature carved by the late ballad singer, Romeo Berthiaume of Woonsocket, Rhode Island. The Braye à lin a traditional Quebec farm tool used to break the husk of the flax plant, is a potent symbol for the French-Canadian babitant, or small farmer. Photo by Carol Pendleton.



Deborab A. Waldman received ber master's degree in ethnomusicology from Brown University in 1976. She served as a consultant for the National Endowment for the Arts and field coordinator/presenter for the French-American Program of the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife in 1976, and executive secretary and project director for the Rhode Island Alliance for Arts in Education.

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Si Vous Arez Une Fille Qui Vent se Marier: La Bolduc. Compo Company Ltd., Quebec. Carnaval C-505.

Songs of French Canada. Ethnic Folkways Library FE 4482. not in small country villages or on self-sufficient farms, but in urban French-American enclaves located in the shadows of the smokestack and the time-clock. Whereas their parents faced the hardships of weather, soil, livestock, and isolation and thus depended upon networks of family and neighbors for material and social vitality, the immigrants' hardships included hostile church leaders, reliance upon a cash economy, subordination to a new type of daily schedule, separated families, appalling work environments and overcrowded living conditions. These new concerns created a generation of people with newly ordered lifestyles and priorities. With the birth of yet another generation now twice removed from the folkways of old Quebec, a diverse variety of groups emerged, only one of which continued to hold to the original social mores.

People of French-Canadian descent comprise the single largest minority in New England. As the French-Canadian has transformed himself and his successive generations into French-Americans, the old ways have undergone interesting changes and modifications.

At present, there is a great deal of intra-cultural diversity within such communities of French-Canadian Americans as Lewiston (Maine), Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Manchester (New Hampshire), and Lowell (Massachusetts). Where English had been the principal language of many of these cities, they became predominantly French-speaking between the years 1850-1900. Even today there are widely scattered "Petit Canada" neighborhoods throughout New England in which one can accomplish a day's errands totally in French.

The lingering affection for the old songs is apparent in the bookshelves and piano benches of many French-Canadian American homes. Throughout Canada and New England arc to be found a great variety of editions of *chansonniers* (song books) which refer to *les bonnes chansons* ("the good old songs"), *chansons d'autrefois* (songs from long ago), or simply, *les vieilles chansons* (the old songs). Nor is it unusual to discover that a French-American family may possess a modest stack of handwritten notebooks, yellow through age and containing the texts of the old songs, often compiled in the singer's late teens.

The high value traditionally assigned to a tightly knit, self-contained community has remained in the hearts of many French-Americans. For them it provides comfort and insulation against the threat of mistrust and encroachment by outside social powers. Sociologist Mary Ann Griggs eites a French-Canadian priest, who stated that folklore serves as "a source of pride . . . a rampart against Anglicization and Americanization." Despite the pressure to Americanize, such cohesive facts as school projects and music activities within French-Catholic church groups have enabled some of the older traditions to survive. Additionally, there has been the support of State Heritage Commissions and the recent enthusiasm for tracing ones "roots." Interest in the Separatist movement in Quebec has led to purchases of Québecois recordings and the importing of Québecois artists for concerts and special performances, as well as the maintainance of such French-American fraternal organizations as L'Union St. Jean-Baptiste, an insurance company founded by French-Americans.

Concurrently, the curricula in the schools of traditionally French enclaves are gradually incorporating a creative, modern approach to bringing the European and Canadian French cultures back to their heirs. Student projects involve cooking traditional foods, arranging concerts by singers of traditional and contemporary French-Canadian music, translating American television themes and commercials into French, and performing these in concerts for local organizations and homes for the aged.

For some New Englanders, however, the desire to retain the French language is stronger than the motivation to perpetuate the traditional songs. For example, in certain amateur community-sponsored concerts and festivals, the program, although entirely in French, may in fact consist of popular American tunes, given such titles as "La Chanson de Lara" ("Lara's Theme"), "Combien des Larmes" ("You Only Hurt the One You Love"), or a version of "Tie a Yellow Ribbon Round the Old Oak Tree" in French translation. But the survival of the traditional music will continue to depend upon the presence of opportunities for its performance and enjoyment by the French-Americans themselves, whose primary objectives are the human values of a sense of community and the desire to be happy.

French-American Foodways by Marjorie Hunt

Traditional foodways play an integral role in French-American life, especially in the Cajun and Creole communities of French Louisiana and the Québecois and Acadian communities of New England. While other forms of French material culture have been lost or are only remembered, French-American cooking has proven to be a tenacious tradition, for it is closely tied to the French-Americans' most precious possessions – language, family, religion and community. Mrs. Adolis Montoucet, an expert Cajun cook from Lafayette, Louisiana, tells how she learned:

I've been cooking everyday for thirty years. I learned from my mother and she was pure French, she didn't even know how to speak English. I don't know all kinds of recipes. I just know the French way. The other new styles, I don't know anything about it, because my family doesn't like it and I don't like it, so I don't bother with it all. I just cook French style.

Like traditional music and song, French-American foodways have been greatly influenced by the cultural diversity and environmental realities of the various regions of the United States where the French settled. In French Louisiana, traditional "French style" foods, such as gumbo and jambalaya, are culinary symbols of the syncretic blend of cultural ingredients that characterize the region. Nick Spitzer, state folklorist of Louisiana, describes gumbo's components:

The name is a West African term for okra; the sassafras filé powder, used for a flavored thickener, comes from the local Indians; the rice is raised by Cajuns, who learned the skill on a large scale from the Germans; and in many cases, a Continental French or Spanish aesthetic determines how the final blend is cooked. It is this diversity within the overall French influenced culture of the region that makes gumbo such an appropriate metaphor for the people . . .

A community *boucherse* or hog butchering in rural Southwest Louisiana. Photo by Elemore Morgan.





Masked Mardi Gras "runners" go through the countryside begging for chickens and sausage for the traditional Mardi Gras gumbo.

In New England, the French-American settlers, many of them French-Canadian *petits babitants* (small farmers) from Quebec, were subject not only to Scots-Irish and English cultural influences, but to the cold, harsh winters of the northern woods as well. Their traditional foods, such as *tourtières* (beef and pork pies), *ragout de pattes de cocbon* (pig's feet stew), *galette de sarrasin* or *ployes* (buckwheat pancakes) and Canadian pea soup, are the hearty country dishes of a people who have worked hard to harvest the land and the forest.

French-American traditional foodways are an important part, not only of everyday family life, but of community celebrations, festivals, religious feasts and musical events. In Louisiana, Cajuns gather for the *fais-do-do* or Cajun house parties and for *boucheries*, where, traditionally, groups of men gather to contribute cattle and pigs to be butchered. At these community gatherings dancing, music, cooking and singing blend together, just like the multiple ingredients of a gumbo. The Québecois communities of New England also have a *soirée* or house party tradition for which special foods, such as *tourtières* and *ragout de patte de cochon* are prepared. The *soirée* is also the arena for French-American fiddlers to play music for the dancing of quadrilles, jigs and reels.

So important is the connection between foodways and community life that in southwestern Louisiana many new religious traditions have emerged that are connected with various food harvests. Examples are the Blessing of the Shrimp Fleet and the Blessing of the Sugar Cane Fields. The Basile Swine Festival has become associated with All Saints Day and serves to celebrate the hog as an important staple in the French Louisiana diet. The Festival features a contest where participants eat *boudin* – a sausage made with pork and rice and stuffed inside a pig intestine.

For decades the traditional food of Mardi Gras has been chicken gumbo. Mrs. Montoucet describes the holiday as it is practised in Lafavette, Louisiana:

On Mardi Gras we dress differently from what we're used to. We have costumes. And then we put a small mask on our face over our eyes. Then we put make-up all over our face so we won't be recognized. We do this all day long in Lafayette. We have a float and a barbecue and my husband plays the music and we dance and have fun. A lot of people, they go into the country house to house, and then they ask if they can come in and if the people want you to go in, well, they say, "If you all take your masks off to see who you are, we'll give you a chicken." After we've finished our day and enjoyment, well, we sit at the table and have gumbo – chicken gumbo!

In the Black Creole tradition, Mardi Gras is celebrated in a similar way. Masked "runners" go house to house begging for charité while singing an old, traditional Mardi Gras chant:

On est bon des politessiens q'reviennent beaucoup de loin.

Mardi Gras est miserab.

Une poule par an c'est pas souvent.

Not' gombo est réellement faible.

Nous t'invite à manger un bon gombo.

Mardi Gras t'á mandé po' nous recevoir.

We are polite people who return from far away.

The Mardi Gras is poor.

One chicken a year is not much.

Our gumbo is really weak.

We invite you to eat a good gumbo.

The Mardi Gras has asked you to receive us.

(collected by Nick Spitzer)

The chicken and sausage reward that the runners receive for *cbarité* is taken home, a gumbo is made from the day's collections, followed by a big evening dance to complete the Mardi Gras festivities.

Traditional Cajun Recipes

The following recipes are those of Mrs. Adolis Montoucet, a Cajun cook from Lafayette, Louisiana, and Mrs. Georgette Berthiaume, a Québecois cook from Woonsocket, Rhode Island.

Chicken Gumbo

For 6 people:

"To make a gumbo first you make a roux. . . 1 use about 5 lbs. of flour and make a gallon of roux at a time, because 1 use a lot of roux!

To make the roux, first you put a bit of oil in a pan and add about one cup of flour. Stir well and let the mixture brown, cooking it slowly over a low heat. It has to be brown enough to be good. If you don't get the roux, you can sure mess up a gumbo!

Then add 4 quarts of hot stock. Season with salt, black pepper and one chopped onion, one cup minced green pepper, pureed red hot peppers (to taste) and filé powder [dried and ground sassafras leaves first used by the Choctaw Indians to make medicinal teas]. Use one fryer chicken, if you don't have an old chicken or an old hen. An old hen or rooster is the best for gumbo. Add the chicken to the pot and simmer it all together for two hours or more – that's what makes it good, you let it simmer.

Serve the gumbo in a soup bowl with a large bowl of boiled rice on the side."

Variations:

<u>Chicken and Sausage Gumbo</u> – Follow the same recipe as above, but also add cut up sausage.

<u>Seafood Gumbo</u> – Make the gumbo with a mixture of shrimp, crabs and oysters.

Jambalaya

"You make a jambalaya with pork ribs. Cut the pork ribs about 2 inches wide (enough to fit in a big iron skillet). Put oil in your pan and fry the ribs. When the ribs are brown enough, remove most of the grease from the pan, leaving just a little bit. Then put a chopped bell pepper, one chopped onion, chopped celery and onion tops in there and let it fry a little bit. Then add 2 quarts of hot water. Bring the mixture to a boil and season with salt and red pepper. Then you let it simmer, good and long, 'til the pork is tender. I like to cook my rice on the side so it doesn't get mushy. Boil the rice and then mix the cooked rice in with the pork and mix it all together. Don't let it get too dry. A jambalaya is good real moist."

Variation:

Sausage Jambalaya – substitute sausage for the pork ribs.



Blessing of the sugar cane, New Iberia, Louisiana. Photo courtesy of the Louisiana Office of Tourism.



Traditional French-American foodways play an integral role in community gatherings such as the fais-do-do or Cajun house party.

Photo by Russell Lee, Farm Security Administration, Library of Congress

Marjorie Hunt, a doctoral candidate in folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania, is on the staff of the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs. She teaches undergraduate courses in folklore at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Gumbo: The Mysteries of Cajun and Creole Cooking, by Stephen Duplantier and Marc Porter (19⁷8). 28 min. color sound. Bayou Films

Québecois Recipes

Ragout de Pattes de Cochon (Pig's Feet Stew)

This dish is traditionally served on New Year's Day and is a popular meal during the cold winter months.

For a family of 5 or 6:

"Take four *pattes de cochon* (pig's feet) and place them in a large pot with 4 quarts of water. Add a pecled, whole onion to the water for flavoring and boil until the pig's feet are tender. To 3 lbs. of hamburger add a little bit of cinnamon, nutmeg, parsley, and salt and pepper to taste. Make the hamburger into small balls and roll in some flour. Cut up 2 packages of celery and add the celery and seasoned hamburger to the boiling water. Let the hamburger and pig's feet mixture simmer slowly until the hamburger is cooked."

Serve the stew with boiled potatoes and beets.

Tourtières (beef and pork pies)

This popular Québecois dish is found in French-speaking communities throughout New England. In Mrs. Berthiaume's family, it was a Christmas custom to serve *tourtières* when the family returned from Midnight Mass. For three 9-inch pies:

In a large bowl mix 2 lbs. of ground round (lean beef) and 2 lbs. of chopped salt pork. Add one chopped onion, a little bit of sage, salt, pepper, poultry seasoning, cinnamon and one clove. Mix well and put the meat in a 4-quart pan and let it simmer slowly over medium heat. When mixture simmers enough to be liquidy, add 1 cup of bread crumbs to thicken. Let it simmer slowly until meat is cooked. Cool.

Pie Crust – Add a small amount of salt to 3 cups of flour and blend well. Blend in 1 cup of lard. Add 1 tbs. of water (add more if necessary). Roll the flour dough into 6 balls to make 3 pies. Line a 9-inch pan and let it brown in oven for 5 minutes. Then add cooled beef and pork mixture, cover with top crust and cook for 25 to 30 minutes. Serve hot.

Canadian Pea Soup

Soak 1 lb. of peas overnight, Drain in the morning. Place the soaked peas in a large pot with 4 quarts of water. Add 1 bay leaf, 1 chopped onion, 1 lb. of salt pork and cook very slowly, stirring frequently until it thickens. Season with salt and pepper.

Mrs. Berthiaumes's husband remembered his mother serving the pea soup with boiled potatoes. When the family finished the soup, they would take out the salt pork and put it on the table with the potatoes for a second dish.

South Louisiana: Unity and Diversity in a Folk Region by Nicholas R. Spitzer

The varied folk traditions of South Louisiana, from Cajun music and Creole zydeco to cooking of gumbo and building Lafitte skiffs, reflect the great diversity of the region's natural and cultural environments. To describe French southern Louisiana as a diverse "folk region," however, is difficult, for such areas are generally defined as culturally homogenous, with relatively stable populations.

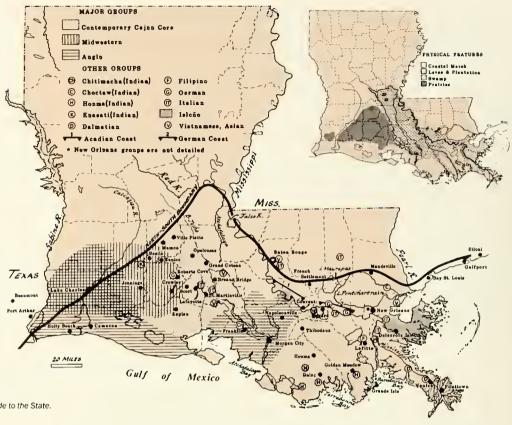
To be sure, there are regional unifying features in South Louisiana: the French language (Cajun dialects and Creole), Catholicism (over 50%), festivals, folk foodways (gumbo, jambalaya, *boudin* sausage, *andouille*, etc.) and traditional material culture (Creole cottages and folk boats). Each of these features also has a great deal of regional variation and many are not strictly of French origin. For example, Creole, the Afro-French language of the plantation areas, is spoken largely in a sub-region west of the Atchafalaya Basin (see map), while Cajun French is spoken on the prairies. The latter dialect is decidedly nasal with flat vowels when compared to that spoken in the town of French Settlement east of the Mississippi or older New Orleans French, both of which sound a bit more Continental. Similarly, Catholicism varies from the grand tradition evoked by Cathedrals in Lafayette and New Orleans to folk practices such as shrimp fleet and cane field blessings, home altars, yard virgins, *traiteurs* (folk medicine treaters) and, among some black Catholics, *jurer* (Afro-French praise chanting).

Festivals range from the large public Mardi Gras float parades of New Orleans, to back streets devoted to the Afro-Caribbean Black "Indians," as well as the rural country *courir de Mardi Gras*, where costumed clowns and rogues go house to house in search of chickens for a communal gumbo. There are also a burgeoning number of neo-festivals that celebrate crawfish, oysters, oil and ethnicity, courtesy of the local Cajun Jaycees or Bayou Lions Club.

Food, though universally well seasoned and a social focal point throughout French Louisiana, also varies widely. Gumbo on the prairies is usually made with chicken and sausage in a dark roux, while the gumbo of the lower coast is

Joseph Bébé Carrière, Creole violinist from Lawtell, Louisiana. Photo by Nicholas Spitzer.





Map of South Louisiana folk regions. Ada L.K. Newton from Louisiana Folklife: A Guide to the State. Data by Nicholas R. Spitzer.

likely to contain seafood. In New Orleans tomato transforms the dish into one the prairie dwellers would scarcely recognize as gumbo.

Folk housing in the form of Creole and Acadian cottages shows some continuity of type. Still, houses near the water tend to be built on stilts and of simpler construction, while the inland housing along the bayous and on the prairies may be more elaborate with *bousillage* (mud and moss) walls, half timbering, a second floor *garçonnière* and central chimneys.

Folk boats built in wood are particularly subject to environmental variation. The *pirogue*, originally an Indian boat found along the coast, is used wherever there is a veneer of moisture from prairie canal to lower coast *trainasse* (a tiny path cut for a *pirogue*). The Lafitte skiff tends to be a lower coast and offshore boat for small-scale shrimping. Despite their shallow drafts, Creole skiffs and *bateaux* have great stability when loaded, and are used in the flat water of inland swamp basins and slow bayous for crawfishing and catfishing.

This overall diversity of cultural forms in French Louisiana today is a product of nearly three hundred years of settlement. The earliest colonists tended to occupy the high ground along the Mississippi and the major bayous. It was here that French and German concessions (large land grants), *babitations* (smaller grants) and later, plantations for indigo and tobacco, were developed as part of the larger French West Indian plantation sphere of the 18th century. In the 19th century sugar became the dominant crop among the French and especially the newer American plantations.

In addition to plantation society were the Acadians – *petit babitants*, exiled from Nova Scotia who arrived after 1765 to become small farmers and fishermen. Though early Cajuns settled levee lands along the "Acadian Coast" of the Mississippi, the social economy of plantation growth forced many of these smaller farmers to move into less desirable areas along the lower coast and into the swamp basins. Many Cajuns had already settled successfully along upper Bayou Teche to the west, and some of these people spilled out onto the prairies. Today the vast "sea" of rice and soybean growing prairies as well as the shrimp, oyster and oil areas of Bayou Lafourche form the core of modern Cajun life (see map).

The planter/mercantilists of direct French descent, German colonists, Spaniards during the Spanish regime (1768-1803), *Isleños* from the Canary Islands, the Acadians, Black slaves and native Indian tribes (Bayou Goula, Houma, Choctaw) comprised most of the eighteenth century South Louisiana population. American planters and some yeomen farmers from the Upland South arrived in the early nineteenth century. Later ethnic immigrants from Europe also added to this mix. These included Germans, Italians and Dalmatians. The Italians replaced Black slaves in the 1870s as sugar workers, while the Dalmatians from Yugoslavia brought the knowledge and technology of fishing for oysters to the lower coast around the turn of the century. In addition to German immigrants who settled in New Orleans, many midwestern German farmers moved to the prairies of southwest Louisiana in the 1880s.

Certainly the major non-European influence in this colonial and immigrant "gumbo" of cultures was from Africa and the West Indies. Louisiana planters brought 28,000 slaves to cut cane and make sugar from Senegal, Dahomey and the Congo through the French West Indian trade of the eighteenth century. The early colonists, primarily French-Spanish in origin, referred to themselves as "Creoles" (from the Portuguese Criuolo: native to a region), meaning that they were descendants of Europeans born in the New World. When the European Creoles mixed with slave populations in the West Indies and Louisiana, they produced an intermediate group called the gens libres de couleur (Creoles of Color) - the offspring of planters and slaves. Such lightskinned, often very European people, were likely to be freed and given land, unlike those in the Anglo-dominated South. After the Haitian uprisings in what had been the French sugar colony of St. Domingue, Caribbean refugees flooded New Orleans from 1804 to 1810. These included planters, Creoles of Color and French slaves. This influx added a strong West Indian flavor to South Louisiana culture. The French slaves and lighter free people began to use the term "Creole" to distinguish themselves from the American Blacks and the Anglo planters as well as from the Cajun peasantry encountered when they migrated onto the prairies in search of land.

Given this complex history of contact and change, "Creole" in Louisiana today can mean diametric opposites as well as a broad range in between, depending upon who is talking to whom and about what. In the plantation areas and around New Orleans, a Creole still tends to be thought of as a descendant from the old European colonial families. However, along Bayou Teche and out onto the prairies, the Creoles usually are those who were historically free people that now share Cajun culture to some degree. These "Black Creoles" often overlap culturally with Cajuns in their speech style, religion and, to a lesser extent, music, but they are still socially distinct. As a result the term "Black Cajun" is usually not an acceptable one to Cajuns or such Creoles.

Further complicating matters is the Creole language, which is the Afro-French speech found in St. Martin, St. Landry, Point Coupee and Iberia Parishes where the strongest French plantation economy was retained French Creole, spoken by people of all colors, *mo couri* means "I go;" *mo té couri* is "I went;" *mo té pé couri* is "I was going" and so on. This language is remarkably similar to Haitian Creole and that spoken in other places of Afro-French contact in Africa, the West Indies and the Indian Ocean. Cajun French on the other hand is a mingling of seventeenth century Acadian French and maritime French, with strong influences from English as well as some Indian, Spanish, German and African languages. Cajun French and Creole speakers alike in Louisiana will tell you, "The French, it changes every thirty miles." Most people who speak one type of Louisiana French can understand the other forms; however, foreign French speaking visitors are not always as able to comprehend local dialects.

A great irony in the persistence of French folk culture in South Louisiana is that it is among Black Creoles and French-speaking Houma Indians (located in the lower coastal parishes of Terrebone and Lafourche) that one often finds the strongest retention of French traditions in such cultural aspects as language, religion, and foodways. Although more upwardly mobile Cajuns tended in the



Delton Broussard and the Lawtell Playboys play zydeco at Slim's Y-Ki-Ki, a Creole dance hall. Photo by Nicholas R. Spitzer.



A Cajun fisherman with a *pirogue*, a traditional boat type from French Louisiana. Photo by Robert Yellin for the Smithsonian Institution.

Nick Spitzer, the Director of the Louisiana Folklife Program, has done fieldwork in southern Louisiana since 1974, including research for the Smithsonian Institution in 1975 and 1978. He has produced several records on Louisiana folk music and has just completed a film on zydeco.

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J'étais au bal-Music from French Louisiana. Swallow 6020.

Louisiana Cajun Music. Old-Timey Records 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 124, and 125.

Zodico: Louisiana Creole Music. Rounder Record 6009.

Suggested films

Dedans le Sud de la Louisiane, by Jean Pierre Bruneau. 60 min color sound Bayou Films, Rt. 3, P.O. Box 614, Cut Off, Louisiana 70345. Le son des Cajuns, by André Gladu. Four 30 min. color video programs. Canadian Broadcasting Corp., 245 Park Ave., New York, New York 10022.

Zydeco: Creole Music and Culture in Rural Louisianu, by Nicholas R. Spitzer and Stephen Duplantier (1983). 58 min. color sound. Bayou Films, Rt. 3, PO. Box 614, Cut Off, Louisiana "0345 nineteenth century to assimilate German, Spanish, English and other populations that they were in contact with, they have over the last fifty years been increasingly affected by Anglo-American culture. Thus today in urban areas and on the prairies one hears less French spoken, and more country and western music performed – a part of a general cowboy Texan influence. Much of this acculturation was due to the introduction of hard-topped roads, English language textbooks and the media, the involvement of Cajuns in military service during World War II, and the tremendous influx of oil industry service populations in the twentieth century. Less obvious, but still significant, Anglo and German cultural impacts on Louisiana Caiuns reach into the nineteenth century, German midwesterners and Anglos from Texas and elsewhere came to the prairies after the Civil War. They settled in the pattern of the midwestern farmstead, bringing with them its two story I-houses and wheat farming technology that was converted to use for growing rice. The Germans may also have introduced the button accordion to the region, now the mainstay of Cajun music. The contact with Texans grew later during the oil industry expansion, when Cajuns migrated to Texas border towns, like Port Arthur and Beaumont, to work in the refineries. Texans likewise came to Morgan City, Houma, Lafavette and Lake Charles in oil related jobs and brought with them their speech style, Western swing music and Anglo world view.

If Anglo culture in the region has affected Cajuns, in the twentieth century, Black American culture has had a similar impact on Creoles. For example, they have tended increasingly to listen to soul music rather than their own zydeco style of French music. Until recently anything that seemed Creole or French was considered passé or "country" by Black Creoles who found themselves excluded from Cajun society, and somewhat as well from Black American society. Lately, however, a return to Afro-French Creole identity has paralleled the general renaissance of Louisiana French culture. Louisiana Creoles are increasingly interested in their unique mix of African and European traditions. This is evidenced in the impressive resurgence of zydeco music (and dance halls) which reflects their own diverse history in its mingling of Afro-Caribbean rhythms, Cajun tunes and Black American blues tonalities. Creoles recognize zydeco as their own music, but also are aware of its close relation to Cajun style. Zydeco symbolizes in part their participation in the broader culture of French Louisiana.

Cajun music has also come to represent the survival and re-awakening of Cajun culture, thanks in part to the efforts of the Smithsonian Institution and its fieldworkers in the 1960s and 1970s. Cajun culture and society, which at one time absorbed the Creole planters, Spaniards, Germans, Anglos and others, still sets the cultural tone for the region as a whole. Cajun ethnicity, now symbolized by the once derided crawfish, has expanded a region-wide consciousness to the point that newcomers in the oil industry seem to accept at least the French music traditions and foodways, and claim their "Cajun-ness" in a short time.

In part, the regionalization of Cajun culture is a tribute to its persistence over the years. Further, some underlying unities provide a contrast to the region's diversity and make the label "Cajun" a commodious one. For example, material culture activities, like boat making and carving duck decoys, are shared to varying degrees by Creoles, Anglos, Isleños, Slavonians and Italians throughout the area. Many members of these distinct groups speak at least contact Cajun French. Co-existence in the regional environment also permits shared experiences in hunting and fishing. Thus, it is that one *Isleño* word for duck is taken from the French canard, or the Cajun word for raccoon (chaottis) is taken from Indian usage. But the most basic unifying feature of nearly all the ethnic groups who affiliate with this Mediterranean-African derived folk region, is the presence of and participation in the Catholic Church, with its vaulted above-ground tombs, looming cathedrals, and ritual/festival complex. All Saints and Mardi Gras celebrations in South Louisiana and related areas of the Gulf Coast are unique in American Catholicism. The complexity of the history, ethnicity and varied traditions on the same cultural landscape promise a continued balance of unity and diversity in French southern Louisiana.

Cajun Music: A Louisiana French Tradition by Barry Jean Ancelet

Cajun music is a Louisiana hybrid, a blend of cultural influences with an identity which accordion maker and musician Marc Savoy of Eunice describes in culinary terms: "It's a blend of ingredients, like a gumbo in which different spices and flavors combine to make a new taste." Indeed, like Cajun cooking and culture in general, Cajun music blends elements of American Indian, Scots-Irish, Spanish, German, Anglo-American and Afro-Carribean musics with a rich stock of western French folk traditions.

Most of Louisiana's French population descends from the Acadians, the French colonists who began settling at Port Royal, Acadia in 1604. They remained outside mainstream communication between France and its larger, more important colony, New France, though their isolation was frequently disturbed by the power struggle between the English and French colonial empires. Acadia changed hands back and forth until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when England gained permanent possession of the colony and renamed



Cajun Fiddler, Dewey Balfa. Photo by Robert Yellin.

it Nova Scotia. The Acadians were eventually deported from their homeland in 1755 by local British authorities after years of political and religious tension. In 1765, after 10 years of wandering, many Acadians began to arrive in Louisiana, determined to recreate their society. Within a generation these exiles had so firmly reestablished themselves as a people that they became the dominant culture in South Louisiana, absorbing other ethnic groups around them. Most of the French Creoles (descendants of earlier French settlers), Spanish, Germans, and Anglo Americans in the region eventually adopted the traditions and language of this new society, thus creating the South Louisiana mainstream. The Acadians, in turn, borrowed many traits from these other cultures, and this cross-cultural exchange produced a new Louisiana-based community – the Cajuns.

The Acadians' contact with these various cultures contributed to the development of new musical styles and repertoire. From Indians, they learned wailing singing styles and new dance rhythms; from Blacks, they learned the blues, percussion techniques, and improvisational singing; from Anglo-Americans, they learned new fiddle tunes to accompany Virginia reels, square dances and hoedowns. The Spanish contributed the guitar and even a few tunes. Refugees and their slaves who arrived from Saint-Domingue at the turn of the nineteenth century brought with them a syncopated West Indian beat. Jewish-German immigrants began importing diatonic accordions (invented in Vienna in 1828) toward the end of the nineteenth century when Acadians and Black Creoles began to show an interest in the instruments. They blended these elements to create a new music just as they were synthesizing the same cultures to create Cajun society.

The turn of the twentieth century was a formative period in the development of Louisiana French music. Some of its most influential musicians were the Black Creoles who brought a strong, rural blues element into Cajun music. Simultaneously Blacks influenced the parallel development of zydeco music, later refined by Clifton Chenier. Although fiddlers such as Dennis McGee and Sady Courville still composed tunes, the accordion was rapidly becoming the mainstay of traditional dance bands. Limited in the number of notes and keys it could play in, it simplified Cajun music; songs which could not be played on the accordion faded from the active repertoire. Meanwhile, fiddlers were often relegated to playing a duet accompaniment or a simple percussive second line below the accordion's melodic lead.

By the mid-1930s, Cajuns were reluctantly, though inevitably, becoming Americanized. Their French language was banned from schools throughout South Louisiana as America, caught in the "melting pot" ideology, tried to homogenize its diverse ethnic and cultural elements. In South Louisiana, speaking French was not only against the rules, it became increasingly unpopular as Cajuns attempted to escape the stigma attached to their culture. New highways and improved transportation opened this previously isolated area to the rest of the country, and the Cajuns began to imitate their Anglo-American neighbors in earnest.

The social and cultural changes of the 1930s and 1940s were clearly reflected in the music recorded in this period. The slick programming on radio (and later on television) inadvertently forced the comparatively unpolished traditional sounds underground. The accordion faded from the scene, partly because the old-style music had lost popularity and partly because the instruments were unavailable from Germany during the war. As western swing and bluegrass sounds from Texas and Tennessee swept the country, string bands which imitated the music of Bob Wills and the Texas Playboys and copied Bill Monroe's "high lonesome sound" sprouted across South Louisiana. Freed from the limitations imposed by the accordion, string bands readily absorbed various outside influences. Dancers across South Louisiana were shocked in the mid-1930s to hear music which came not only from the bandstand, but also from the opposite end of the dance hall through speakers powered by a Model-T behind the building. The electric steel guitar was added to the standard instrumentation and drums replaced the triangle as Cajuns continued to experiment with new sounds borrowed from their Anglo-American neighbors. As amplification made it unnecessary for fiddlers to bear down with the bow to

Cajun Musicians Sady Courville, Mark Savoy and Dennis McGhee.





be audible, they developed a lighter, lilting touch, moving away from the soulful styles of earlier days.

By the late 1940s, the music recorded by commercial producers signalled an unmistakable tendency toward Americanization. Yet an undercurrent of traditional music persisted. It resurfaced with the music of Iry Lejeune, who accompanied the Oklahoma Tornadoes in 1948 to record *La Valse du Pont d'Amour* in the turn of the century Louisiana style and in French. The recording was an unexpected success, presaging a revival of the earlier style, and Iry Lejeune became a pivotal figure in a Cajun music revival. Dance halls providing traditional music flourished, and musicians such as Lawrence Walker, Austin Pitre and Nathan Abshire brought their accordions out of the closet and once again performed old-style Cajun music, while local companies began recording them. Cajun music, though bearing the marks of Americanization, was making a dramatic comeback, just as interest in the culture and language quickened before the 1955 bicentennial celebration of the Acadian exile.

Alan Lomax, a member of the Newport Folk Festival Foundation who had become interested in Louisiana French folk music during a field trip with his father in the 1930s, encouraged the documentation and preservation of Cajun music. In the late 1950s, Harry Oster began recording a musical spectrum of Cajun music which ranged from unaccompanied ballads to contemporary dance tunes. His collection, which stressed the evolution of the music, attracted the attention of local activists, such as Paul Tate and Revon Reed. The work of Oster and Lomax was noticed by the Newport Foundation, which sent fieldworkers Ralph Rinzler and Mike Seeger to South Louisiana. Cajun dance bands had played at the National Folk Festival as early as 1935, but little echo of these performances reached Louisiana. Rinzler and Seeger, seeking the unadorned roots of Cajun music, chose Gladius Thibodeaux, Louis "Vinesse" Lejeune and Dewey Balfa to represent Louisiana at the 1964 Newport Folk Festival. Their "gutsy," unamplified folk music made the Louisiana cultural establishment uneasy, for such "unrefined" sounds embarrassed the upwardly mobile Cajuns who considered the music chosen for the Newport festival crude – "nothing but chanky-chank."

The instincts of the Newport festival organizers proved well-founded, as huge crowds gave the old-time music standing ovations. Dewey Balfa was so moved that he returned to Louisiana determined to bring the message home. He began working on a small scale among his friends and family in Mamou, Basile and Eunice. The Newport Folk Foundation, under the guidance of Lomax, provided money and fieldworkers to the new Louisiana Folk Foundation "to water the roots." With financial support and outside approval, local activists became involved in preserving the music, language and culture. Traditional music contests and concerts were organized at events such as the Abheville Dairy Festival, the Opelousas Yambilee and the Crowley Rice Festival.

In 1968, the state of Louisiana officially recognized the Cajun cultural revival which had been brewing under the leadership of the music community and political leaders, such as Dudley LeBlane and Roy Theriot. In that year, it

Cajun Musician Joe Falcon with his wife Cleoma Breaux Falcon. Photo by Lauren C. Post, Courtesy of Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.



Hector Duhon and Octa Clark have been playing Cajun music together for over fifty years. Al Gody, Louisiana Office of Tourism

Barry Jean Ancelet received a MA in folklore from Indiana University and is a doctoral candidate in Creole Studies at the Universite de Provence. He is currently Director of Folklore Programs, Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana. He is a native of Louisiana where he grew up with French as his first language.

Suggested reading

Conrad, Glenn R., ed. *The Cajuns: Essays On Their History and Culture*. Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies Publication, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 3rd revised edition, 1983

Post, Lauren. *Cajun Sketches*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Whitfield, Irene Therese. *Louisiana Frencb Folk Song*. New York: Dover, 1969.

Suggested recordings

J'etais au bal: Music from French Louisiana. Swallow 6020

Louisiana French Cajun Music from the Southwest Prairies. Rounder Records 6001 and 6002.

Louisiana Cajun Music. Old-Timey Records 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 124, and 125.

Suggested films

Le sons des Cajans, by André Gladu, Michel Brault, Jacques Bouchard Four 30 min color video programs, 5225 Rue Berri, Montreal, Quebec H2J 284.

Dedams le Sud de la Louisiane, by Jean Pierre Bruneau. 60 min color sound. Bayou Films. Rt. 3, PO. Box 614, Cut Off, Louisiana 70345 Huit Piastre et Demi, by Glenn Pete. Cote Blanche Production, 113 W 69th St., Cut Off, Louisiana 70345. created the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) which, under the chairmanship of James Domengeaux, began its efforts on political, psychological and educational fronts to crase the stigma Louisianans had long attached to the French language and culture. The creation of French classes in elementary schools dramatically reversed the policy which had formerly barred the language from the schoolgrounds.

Domengeaux's efforts were not limited to the classroom. Influenced by Rinzler and Balfa, CODOFIL organized a first *Tribute to Cajun Music* festival in 1974 with a concert designed to present an historical overview of Cajun music from its origins to modern styles. The echo had finally come home. Dewey Balfa's message of cultural self-esteem was enthusiastically received by an audience of over 12,000.

Because of its success the festival became an annual celebration of Cajun music and culture. It not only provided exposure for the musicians but presented them as culture heroes. Young performers were attracted to the revalidated Cajun music scene, while local French movement officials, realizing the impact of the grassroots, began to stress the native Louisiana French culture. Balfa's dogged pursuit of cultural recognition carried him farther than he had ever expected. In 1977, he received a Folk Artists in the Schools grant from the National Endowment for the Arts to bring his message into elementary school classrooms. Young Cajuns, discovering local models besides country and rock stars, began to perform the music of their heritage. Yet, they did not reject modern sounds totally. Performers such as Michael Doucet and Beausoleil are gradually making their presence known in Cajun music, replacing older musicians on the regular weekend dance hall circuit and representing traditional Cajun music at local and national festivals.

Cajun music seems likely to live for sometime to come. The renewed creativity within the tradition, as opposed to slavish imitation of older styles, makes predictions of its disappearance seem hasty. Purists who would resist new instrumentation and styles ignore the fact that change and innovation have always characterized Cajun music – the introduction of the accordion in the late nineteenth century, for instance, or the adding of other instruments in the 1950s, and the influence of the blues, swing, and rock. As Dewey Balfa points out, "When things stop changing, they die. The culture and the music have to breathe and grow, but they have to stay within certain guidelines to be true. And those guidelines are pureness and sincerity." The blending and cultural fusion at the heart of the development of Cajun culture continue to be essential to its music.

Icarus Revisited: The Folklore and Folklife of Flight by Jack Santino

Why are there airplanes at the Festival of American Folklife? What is the aviation industry doing at a folklife festival? Are the pilots, flight attendants, and maintenance workers who support the airline industry "folk?" If they do not

play banjos or sing old songs, why are they here?

Questions such as these are asked by puzzled visitors whenever a contemporary occupational group is presented at the Festival of American Folklife. Because folklore is often identified with old and dying customs, contemporary traditions which have grown out of work experience and are organized around job skills and occupational identity seem incongruous. But folklore is not simply a list of "things," such as old songs or "tall tales." It is a way people relate to and communicate with each other. Folklore is small scale, face to face; it is imbued with personal artistry and group sensibilities, derived from one's ethnic, regional, religious or occupational affiliation.

Most of the people participating in the festival are bearers of age-old traditions. Such traditions are highly visible and call attention to themselves: people may wear special costumes, perform music and dance, or conduct rituals. Such artistic and often beautiful genres clearly deserve recognition and validation, especially in an age when rapid technological change threatens their integrity and vitality. But whenever people need to relate to each other, they develop ways of passing on important information, of maintaining a social good, of entertaining and improving the life of the group. This happens most effectively with occupations such as those of the aviation industry, whose workers must cooperate to ensure the overall safety and success of the task, and who spend as much time with each other as they do with their families.

1983 is the 200th anniversary of man in flight, commemorating the first Montgolfier manned balloon flight in France on November 21, 1783. In Greek mythology, Icarus put on wings made of wax and took to the heavens, only to fall to earth when his wings melted as he flew too close to the sun. This tale may have evolved to portray flying as inappropriate to human beings, but, undaunted, men and women have continued to improve on Icarus's wax wings. In 1903, Wilbur and Orville Wright successfully sustained flight for 12 seconds in their home-built flying machine. Today's aviation industry traces its origin to that mythic moment, when man stole the power of flight and dominion of the air from the gods, just as Prometheus had once stolen fire.

The range of folklore in the airline industry is surprisingly wide. Legends about ghosts and haunted planes, for example, are told, such as this anecdote

by a flight attendant:

I guess it was a Lockheed 1011 that went down in the Everglades, and the engineer was killed. Now, I've heard this story from so many people. He was killed and all the other crew members and the passengers made it. He died of smoke inhalation or something like that. Well, he has shown up as a ghost in subsequent flights. He has shown up in the cockpit; he has shown up as a face in the oven downstairs, because the DC-10's in Lockheed 1011's have two elevators that go down into the belly, and that's where the kitchen is on that airplane. He has shown up walking through the airplane. It's hard for people like me to even admit it, but yes. It's this one airplane, it's the only airplane he shows up on. But anytime he has shown up, he's come as a warning signal. It gives me chills to talk about it. He shows and it's usually as a warning. He showed up in the oven once, just his face, and there was a fire down there five minutes later. He showed up in the cockpit on the radar screen and something went wrong on that airplane before they took off. They have taken this airplane out of service; people would not fly on it; flight attendants walked off; pilots walked off.

The Folklife of Flight Program bas been organized in conjunction with the National Air and Space Museum.

William C. "Tex." Guthrie – barnstormer, crop duster, and retired commercial pilot.

Photo taken in front of Kinner America Eagle, 1934



Jack Santino earned the Ph.D. degree in folklore and folklife at the University of Pennsylvania and has worked for the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs since 1975. He has published on occupational folklore, as well as folk custom and belief, and popular culture. Additionally he has produced ethnographic films and museum presentations.

Suggested reading

Auburn, Paula. "Flights, Trips, and Checks: Ethnography of the Airline Stewardess." In *The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in a Complex Society*; eds. James P. Spradley and David W. McCurdy, pp. 191-198. Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972.

Byington, Robert H., ed. *Working Americans*, Smithsonian Folklife Studies No. 3. Washington, D.C., 1978.

Santino, Jack. "'Flew the Ocean in a Plane:' An Investigation of Airline Occupational Narrative." *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, 15 (1978)

Other supernatural lore is found among airline workers such as beliefs about Unidentified Flying Objects and the Bermuda Triangle. In fact, transportation industries in general, because of the danger inherent in traveling long distances in big machines, often have large repertoires of stories concerning "occupational ghostlore" in which supernatural beings come to the aid of workers in times of danger.

Other kinds of folklore permeate the various jobs involved in aviation. For instance, workers develop homemade tools and better ways to get a job accomplished correctly. This knowledge is passed from the skilled worker to the newcomer, much as craft skills are passed from master to apprentice through personal instruction and observation – all outside of official training classes and handbooks.

There are also many stories about the first time on the job, including such themes as "how I got started," first trips, and initiation pranks played on newcomers. Such a prank was recounted by flight attendent Marti O'Rourke:

When you first start to fly, everybody is out to get you. They know that you're brand new just because you're so happy and effervescent and bouncing around. After awhile, you don't bounce so much anymore.

But when I first started to fly, I had been flying about a week, and I was taking a trip through Buffalo to New York. And I guess the crew had told the agent that was working that particular trip that I was brand new. So when I got to the airplane he called me over and he said "Listen, sweetheart, first class is going to be full of champanzees today. They're all going to be dressed in little suits with hats on, and they're all trained monkeys. I want you to check catering and make sure that you have 36 ripe bananas and that everybody in coach knows that there are nothing but monkeys in first class."

So I said, "Hey, that's great!" You know, I thought all these little monkeys are going to be dressed up and everybody in first class is going to be a monkey. So I went to the back and said "Listen, ladies and gentlemen, now don't be nervous. There's nothing but monkeys in first class and they won't hurt you, they won't bother you, they won't bite you, they won't do anything like that. Just be prepared for a bunch of-monkeys up front." And so they all thought that was great.

Well, I got to the catering guy, and still I'm going on thinking that twelve little champanzees are going to sit down in the front. So the catering truck came on and they had catered me and I turned around to the guy and said "Excuse me, pal, but where are my bananas?" And he called up the guy in the catering truck and he said "Joe, come up here. You're not going to believe this one." I said, "No, I'm having a lot of monkeys in first class today, and I need bananas for them." And he said, "Well, I know, they are always monkeys, but we don't give them bananas."

"No, you don't seem to understand. There are going to be real chimpanzees."

By this time, being brand new, I was petrified. I thought "What am I going to do with these monkeys, I don't know how to entertain them."

So I went flying out to the agent. There are all these passengers standing around, and I just burst right through, went up to him and I screamed; "I'm having all these monkeys in first class, they aren't giving me any bananas. What am I going to do with all these bananas?"

A passenger turned around and he said, "Excuse me, but I'm one of the monkeys and I don't want a banana!"

And I realized I was the fool!

The airline industry is made up of people whose jobs are often dangerous, often adventurous, at times heroic, but more often simply mundane. The folklore of this industry captures all of these aspects. At the Festival, workers will present their stories, demonstrate their skills, and talk with the public about their work and their lives. It is our chance to learn about the human beings who are responsible for the safety and smooth sailing of those great silver ships in the sky.

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